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AMERICAN INDIAN ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION
IN SELECT AREAS OF SOUTH DAKOTA

BY

GLEN ARTHUR JUST

A thesis submitted
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree Master of Arts, Major in
Sociology, South Dakota
State University

1970

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AMERICAN INDIAN ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION
IN SELECT AREAS OF SOUTH DAKOTA

This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a candidate for the degree, Master of Arts, and is acceptable as meeting the thesis requirements for this degree, but without implying that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

Thesis Adviser /

/Date/

Head, Rural Sociology /
Department

/Date/

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

During the period 1964 to 1968 the author visited thirteen American Indian reservations in Minnesota, South Dakota, Wyoming, Nebraska and Utah. Urban Indians living in St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota; Mission, Pierre and Rapid City, South Dakota; and Sioux City, Iowa, have been informally interviewed during this time. First-hand knowledge of American Indian college students was gained by advising an integrated white-Indian campus club from 1966-68.

Personal contact since April, 1968, with white and Indian leaders involved in Indian education at Navaho College, University of Utah; Black Hills State College, Spearfish, South Dakota; and five secondary schools in South Dakota and Minnesota provided many germinal ideas for the study.

Finally, the author was fortunate enough to have had the opportunity to teach a mixed class of Indian-white college extension students through the Northeast South Dakota Community Action Program offices at Sisseton, South Dakota, this past year. Since 1966 the author has been impressed by the sincere desire of adult American Indians and American Indian college students to achieve academically at the same level as their white peers. In contrast, it is somewhat disconcerting to repeatedly encounter the negative emphasis placed on the American Indian's educational potential that is contained in

the literature. As an example, The Education of American Indians, a major survey of the literature, is devoted almost entirely to an explanation of the Indian's lack of success in education.¹ The present study will attempt to ascertain the relevant factors associated with Indian educational achievement.

Introduction

The American Indian is usually said to have the poorest education of any minority group in the United States.² We can gain a general picture of how the Indian's educational potential is viewed by the dominant society by looking at three basic premises concerning the supervision and instruction of Indian education established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Their objective is " . . . to educate children who are (1) educationally deficient; (2) culturally deficient; and (3) socially unsophisticated."³ In 1960 the American Indian had slightly over eight years of formal education and a drop-out rate from high school between 50 and 60 per cent.⁴

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¹Ralph Yarborough, Chairman, The Education of American Indians: A Survey of the Literature (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1969).

²Edgar S. Cahn, Ed., Our Brother's Keeper: The Indian in White America (New York: A New Community Press Book, The World Publishing Company, 1969).

³Jim Vance, "What BIA Found About Pay Scales and Evaluation in Their Schools," SDEA Journal, VI, No. 2 (October, 1969), 47.

⁴Alan L. Sorkin, "American Indians Industrialize to Combat Poverty," Monthly Labor Review, Reprint No. 2605, United States Department of Labor (March, 1969), 4.

The dilemma of the American Indian appears to be one in which he is caught in a vicious circle of self and group defeating interactions with the external American society. One who reviews the literature is repeatedly confronted by materials which depict the Indian as being so depressed that it would appear that he is incapable of helping himself. One begins to suspect that, if as much energy had been expended helping the Indian as has been expended decrying his predicament, we would no longer have an Indian "problem."

The basic intent of this study was not to pessimistically describe the conditions confronting this continent's first people. Instead an attempt was made to ascertain what the dominant characteristics and attitudes are of Indian people who continue their education at the college level.

Havighurst and Nergarten recognize that "... education has become the principal avenue of opportunity in the Twentieth Century America . . ."⁵ Consequently, upward mobility for the American Indian is highly dependent upon educational achievement.

Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, April, 1968, attest to the need to improve national programs of Indian education at all levels. Nationally 1.3 per cent of American Indians have finished four years of college as

³
⁵Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Neugarten, Society and Education, 3rd ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1969), p. 70.

compared to approximately ten per cent of the white population.⁶ Many explanations, ranging from value conflicts⁷ to distrust of middle-class whites⁸, have been offered to attempt to account for this difference.

This past academic year, 1969-70, a college-level extension program directed primarily toward Indian people was initiated in the Sisseton, South Dakota, reservation area. The major purpose of this study was to systematically compare participating Indian college extension students from that locale with eligible Indian nonparticipants from the same area and full-time Indian college students at South Dakota State University, Brookings, South Dakota.

Statement of the Problem

The research presented in this paper had two objectives:

- (1) to ascertain the major characteristics differentiating Indian peoples enrolled in full-time college programs from part-time students

⁶ Lister Hill, Chairman, Indian Education: Hearings Before the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Parts 1-3, (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 1243.

⁷ John F. Bryde, S. J., "The Sioux Indian Student: A Study of Scholastic Failure and Personality Conflict," (Denver, Colorado: University of Denver, 1965).

⁸ Dean A. Crawford, David L. Peterson and Virgil Wurr, Minnesota Chippewa Indians: A Handbook for Teachers (St. Paul, Minnesota: Upper Midwest Educational Laboratory, 1967), pp. 39-53.

and college-eligible nonparticipants in select areas of South Dakota; and, (2) to ascertain the major variables influencing attitudes toward education for the three subgroups given above.

Past research efforts that have attempted to explain the Indian's educational underachievement reflect negatively on his academic potential. This negative approach is found in a recent governmental survey of American Indian education covering some 1500 articles, books, theses and dissertations. This extensive review resulted in the compilation of a bibliography containing 708 works that were considered to be worthy of mention.⁹ From a review of this survey and related materials it was possible to summarize past efforts in Indian educational research under two major headings: (1) American Indians do not achieve educationally on a par with members of the dominant society because of their cultural or subcultural differences; and (2) conditions of poverty, social and physical isolation interact to create a situation which leads to the development of passive or fatalistic attitudes toward education and future life goals. In summary, then, the Indian is seen either as being in conflict with the dominant culture or lacking the necessary motivation to achieve within it.

Either conception of the Indian's over-all relationship to higher education appears to be based on self-defeating assumptions

⁹Yerborough, op. cit.

contained within the following categories: (1) The American Indian living within his culture or subculture develops attitudes that are in conflict with those of the dominant American culture. These attitudes are derived from rather homogeneous traits that have a deleterious effect on his ability to achieve educationally. Therefore, cultural conflict is a major factor in Indian underachievement. The implied assumption is that the Indian will not be able to equal the level of white achievement until he acquires the values of the dominant culture. If this assumption is valid, the solution to the Indian's educational "problem" would come into being concomitantly with his assimilation into the dominant culture. (2) Passivity and lack of motivation have their origin either in the Indian's subculture, or it is a result of his living within a poverty milieu, or both. Consequently, he is seen as lacking sufficient social or personal resources to achieve even when given the opportunity. If this assumption were valid the Indian would not be amenable to higher educational achievement until his general poverty were alleviated. This circular self-defeating logic assumes that lack of educational motivation stems from the Indian's subculture and general state of poverty while the conditions that create it can only be corrected through increased education and socialization within the dominant society's major institutions. The research objectives were formulated in order to avoid the circularity of reasoning given above.

The two research objectives stated were also formulated in an attempt to describe and explain differences in the sample population. However, it was necessary to thematically integrate a multitude of explanations and findings in the development of these objectives. The result was the two-dimensional conceptual model with the implied assumptions stated above. These findings and assumptions have been inextricably woven into the total fabric of this research project. Finally, the author's experiences as a participant observer have not supported explanations contained in the literature.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

Introduction

Historically the American Indian has been viewed either as a savage who needed to be changed at all costs or as a noble person whose basic humanity had not been tarnished by Western civilization.¹⁰ These polarized stereotypes of the Indian have been detrimental to his educational development. The idyllic image of the Indian as a noble savage did not represent a picture of one possessing the formal attributes of scholarship, craftsmanship, or erudition. Consequently, when he was diagnosed from the perspective of education, he was all too frequently considered as a savage resisting the white man's "civilizing" efforts.

In 1568 the Jesuits established the first formal education system on this continent for the instruction of the Florida Indians in Havana.¹¹ Their principal activities in the present United States covered the period of 1611 to the late 1700's.¹² The major objectives

¹⁰Jack D. Forbes, Ed. The Indian In America's Past (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: A Spectrum Book, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), pp. 13-34.

¹¹Yarborough, op. cit., p. 5.

¹²Ibid., p. 7.

of this religious group were to convert the Indian to Christianity, Gallicize him, and graft on a sedentary way of life. Simply enough, then, the Indian was to become a Frenchman.

This policy of remolding the Indian into the image of Western man has permeated Indian educational activities well into the twentieth century.

Specifically, "Those who have been involved in the formal education of Indians have assumed that the main purpose of the school is assimilation."¹³ "Common misconceptions about American Indians" held by the general American public still tend to view the Indian as one who has been and remains resistant to education per se.

"Most Indians are uneducated. They don't like to go to school. They would rather stay at home and go fishing and hunting."¹⁴

The result of 400 years of various programs that have reflected this overarching policy of assimilation has been clearly summarized in the following statement:

"We have concluded that our national policies for educating American Indians are a failure of major proportions. They have not offered Indian children--either in years past or today--an educational opportunity anywhere near equal to that offered the great bulk of American children. Past generations of lawmakers and administrators have failed the American Indian. Our own

¹³Yarborough, p. 15.

¹⁴Lister Hill, op. cit., p. 412.

generation thus faces a challenge. We can continue the unacceptable policies and programs of the past or we can recognize our failures, renew our commitments and reinvest our efforts with new energy."¹⁵

Federal Policy and American Indian Education

As the Indian has been mythically seen as savage or nobleman by members of white society, he, in turn, has viewed formal education as either his enemy or panacea for survival. His conception of the school as enemy appears to stem from a fear that he would be divested of his heritage and culture through participation in the white man's school. However, the roots of this fear are not simply a figment of the Indian's imagination.

"A careful review of the historical literature reveals that the dominant policy of the Federal Government toward the American Indian has been one of forced assimilation which has vacillated between the two extremes of coercion and persuasion. At the root of the assimilation policy has been a desire to divest the Indian of his land and resources."¹⁶

The objective of the Federal Government was to open most of the land now encompassed by the present boundaries of the United States for white settlement. Through education the Indian was to become a

¹⁵Ralph Yarborough, Chairman, Indian Education: A National Tragedy--A National Challenge (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1969), p. XI.

¹⁶Yarborough, Indian Education, p. 9.

civilized "gentleman farmer." Consequently, by learning the ways of the white man the Indian would need only a fraction of his traditional lands for self-maintenance.

Indian peoples who had observed the positive benefits of white education included such tribes as the Senecas, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws and Seminoles. The Senecas begged General Washington for teachers as early as 1791,¹⁷ and by 1852 the Cherokees had 23 schools and academies serving 1,100 students.¹⁸ It is ironic that attempts to explain the Indian's educational dilemma include references to cultural conflict and lack of motivation theories. The Cherokee "... had a higher literacy level in English than the white population of either Texas or Arkansas . . . " in the 1880's.¹⁹ It should be recalled that this level of literacy was achieved by the Cherokee even though English was a foreign language for them during this period.

The history of American Indian education has been succinctly categorized into six basic groupings which have served as an outline from which the antecedents of the present dilemma were placed in focus.²⁰ These six basic groupings will chronologically serve as the organizational framework for the completion of this historical review.

¹⁷Yarborough, The Education of American Indians, p. 11.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁹_____, "Give It Back To The Indians: Education on Reservation and Off," Carnegie Quarterly, XVII (Spring, 1969), 1.

²⁰Yarborough, Indian Education, pp. 10-17.

The Mission Period

The "mission period" lasted for approximately 300 years starting with the Jesuit school in Havana in 1568. "Regardless of the religious group, they all had the same goals: civilize and Christianise the Indian."²¹

The Jesuits concentrated their efforts in the Eastern United States, especially the Great Lakes area, after 1611.²² Their policy was to remove the Indian children from their families and tribes, teach them the French language along with Gallic customs, and to impart subject matter from the traditional French academic curriculum.

The predominantly Spanish Franciscans worked in the south-western part of the United States.

"It was their policy to gather their Indians into native villages surrounding the mission, thus keeping their families intact, and to instruct them in the arts and crafts which they would use in making a living."²³

Protestants followed this same policy of Christianizing and civilizing the Indian as soon as they had established a secure enclave in the new world.

²¹Ibid., p. 10.

²²Yarborough, *The Education of American Indians*, p. 7.

²³Ibid.

"King James I, on March 24, 1617, called upon the Anglican clergy to collect money 'for the erecting of some churches and schools for ye education of ye children of these Barbarians in Virginia'."²⁴

Eventually from this request the College of William and Mary was established in 1691.

From these early beginnings the church played the dominant role in education until relations between the two races deteriorated at the time of the Civil War.

The Treaty Period

The first treaty was signed between the United States and the Delawares in 1778 and the last treaty in 1871. In this latter year Congress declared:

"Hereafter, no Indian nation or tribe within the Territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent tribe or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty."²⁵

The first treaty providing for Indian education in 1794 contained ". . . a promise by the government to provide a tribe with teachers 'in the arts of the miller and sawer' . . ."²⁶ A similar educational

²⁴ Ibid., p. 8.

²⁵ D^r Arcy McNickle, The Indian Tribes of the United States: Ethnic and Cultural Survival (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 43.

²⁶ Yerborough, Indian Education, p. 11.

provision was a common element in treaties until their discontinuance in 1871. The Federal Government recognized that Indian farmers would need to acquire basic skills in agriculture; that once these skills were obtained the Indian would require less land and would be easier to contain.²⁷ The United States acquired almost a billion acres of land under this policy.

In 1802 Congress began to meet its pledge to provide such public services as education, medical care, and technical and agricultural training to the Indian with an authorized expenditure of up to \$15,000 annually.²⁸ However, the beginning of most Indian education programs stem from an act in 1819 " . . . which provided for an annual 'civilization fund' to be used to convert Indians from hunters to agriculturists."²⁹ The basic provisions of this act were in effect for the next half-century.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs assumed responsibility for Indian education through this newly created office in 1832. The early commissioners saw the Indians as barbarians, heathen people who were reluctant to give up their savage ways.³⁰ In 1872 the situation

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

had regressed to this level once more. The Commissioner, General Francis C. Walker, spoke for the government's Indian policy when he said:

"There is no question of national dignity, be it remembered, involved in the treatment of savages by civilized powers. With wild men, as with wild beasts, the question on whether in a given situation one shall fight, coax, or run, is a question merely of what is easiest and safest . . . The Indians should be as comfortable on and as uncomfortable off, their reservation (as possible) . . . "31

The Allotment Period

The last 30 years of the 19th Century was a desperate period for the American Indian. His military resistance in defense of his homeland was finally crushed with the Sioux massacre at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1890 by the United States Cavalry. The Dawes Act of 1887 reduced the Indian land base from 140 to approximately 50 million acres, thereby, making him economically dependent on his conquerors. The sale of these 90 million acres of Indian land by the Federal Government provided monies for the removal of native children from their homes and their placement in boarding schools. The official policy was to remove Indian children from their reservations, strip them of their tribal lore and mores, and socialize them into the ways of the white man.³²

³¹Forbes, p. 113.

³²Yarborough, Indian Education, p. 12.

Indian families soon found that resistance to forced assimilation through the school resulted in the loss of their allotments (subsistence money that was guaranteed by treaty). Consequently, the remaining Indian population of a little over 200,000³³ could no longer demand respect in a land they had peopled for 25,000 years or more. The "Rise of Racial Determinism" had found expression among native people reduced to the life of the reservation.³⁴

Both friends and foe of the American Indian shared a common conception of him as an inferior being: Charels Maclaren stated in 1875:

"The intellectual faculties of this great family appear to be decidedly inferior, when compared with those of the Caucasian or Mongolian race. The Americans are not only adverse to the restraint of education but are for the most part incapable of a continued process of reasoning on abstract subjects."³⁵

A "friend" of the Indian, J. B. Harrison, agreed with Maclaren in an 1881 publication by the Indians Rights Association: "The Indians as a race are, of course, far inferior to white men in intellectual capacity."³⁶

³³McNickle, p. 1.

³⁴Mervin Harris, The Rise of Anthropological Theory (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1968), pp. 80-107.

³⁵Forbes, p. 17.

³⁶Ibid.

In 1897 Captain J. Lee Humphreys expressed a similar attitude toward the Indian:

"Like all other savage people, his (the Indian's) intellectual gifts were limited . . . There was in the Indian nature a trait of intractability not found in any other portion of the human race . . . "37

In conclusion, during this period of white-Indian history the dominant white conception of the Indian's intellectual capacity was extremely limited. It was thought that an intellectually inferior people could benefit most by being educated in the simpler trades.

The Meriam Report and the New Deal Period

Shortly after the advent of the 20th Century the Indian population had stopped declining and had begun its upward climb. Two other major occurrences which reshaped the Indian's position in the United States took place during this period.

The Meriam Report of 1928 was the first major survey of social and economic conditions of this nation's first people. Two of the major findings of this report were:

"(1) Indians were excluded from management of their own affairs, and (2) Indians were receiving a poor quality of services (especially health and education) from public officials who were supposed to be serving their needs."38

³⁷Ibid., p. 18.

³⁸Yarborough, Indian Education, p. 13.

In 1970 it is ironic that those same criticisms are still as pervasive as they were in the early years following 1928. Other criticisms within the Meriam Report have maintained their relevancy, too. They included the removal of Indian children from their homes to off-reservation boarding schools, the irrelevancy of curricula, failure of the schools to adjust to language differences and nonparticipation of Indian parents in their children's schools.³⁹

The Federal Government's philosophy toward the Indian was being altered by the Meriam Report, which "... recognized that freedom of choice is essential in the growth of people and that this freedom cannot be exercised unless true alternatives are left open."⁴⁰

The second major occurrence was John Collier's appointment as Commissioner of Indian Affairs during the Roosevelt Administration in 1933. The Roosevelt Administration sought to completely revamp Federal Indian policy, and Collier had been selected to play a key role. The result was the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. This was the first major piece of Indian legislation in which the American Indian was given the option to accept or reject Federal policy.⁴¹ The new citizenship status given the Indian in 1924, for his contribution in WW I, had been allowed expression.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ McNickle, p. 57.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 58.

John Collier " . . . started programs in bilingual education, adult basic education, training of Indian teachers, Indian culture and inservice teacher training."⁴² Furthermore, he closed 16 boarding schools and opened 84 day schools during his term of appointment.

It was unfortunate that these new directions in Indian education were not maintained, but the voice of opposition to the Indian's intellectual and educational potential had not been still. In 1914 E. C. Rowe administered the Binet-Simon Intelligence Test to a group of Indian and white children at Mount Pleasant, Michigan. He concluded:

"The striking difference . . . (between Indian and white I.Q. scores) cannot be explained by hygienic, social and educational differences . . . It seems, therefore, that the only satisfactory explanation of their inferiority in terms of the test is to be found in the inferiority of native ability."⁴³

The controversy over native ability lasted until approximately 1940 when responsible scholars ceased to maintain that the Indian was intellectually inferior.⁴⁴ However, as late as 1934, B. F. Haught

⁴²Yarborough, Indian Education, p. 13.

⁴³Yarborough, The Education of American Indians, p. 32.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 33.

came to this conclusion about Indians in New Mexico: "Indians make lower scores than whites because they are lower in native ability."⁴⁵ The myth of racial determinism had not died. Interviews with Indian peoples from the Sisseton Reservation who had attempted to enter college in the 1920's and 1930's reflected considerable disappointment at not having been able to enter accredited four-year colleges at that time.⁴⁶

The Reservation Termination Period

This fifth period encompassed the years between 1944 and 1960. "In 1944 a House Select Committee on Indian Affairs offered recommendations on achieving 'the final solution to the Indian problem'."⁴⁷ Basically the goal of this committee was the return of Federal policy to the pre-Meriam period. This policy of forced assimilation was almost fully reinstated by 1950 when Dillon Myer assumed the commissionship.⁴⁸

Two years later the Bureau of Indian Affairs closed all Federal schools for Indians in Idaho, Michigan, Washington and Wisconsin. Indian students who had been eligible for loans under the 1934 Reorganization Act found that these monies were no longer

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Personal interviews with two Indian people at Sisseton, South Dakota, April 28, 1970.

⁴⁷Yarborough, Indian Education, p. 13.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 14.

available. Basically, these policy changes implied that Indians and Indian lands were to be gotten rid of at the earliest possible date. As McNickle indicates, Senator Watkins of Utah expressed the attitudes of Congress at that time:

It seemed likely that, if left to themselves, the Indians might postpone indefinitely the time when they would be willing to release the Government from its obligations.⁴⁹

The intent of Congress to destroy Indian tribes as legal, political entities, and treat them as separate individuals was evident in Public Law 280 and House Concurrent Resolution 108, 1953. The language of this resolution stressed that the Indian was to be regarded as a fully participating citizen.⁵⁰ In that the Indian already was guaranteed the same rights and privileges as any other citizen, Congress was attempting to remove itself from past treaty and statutory obligations. Finally, Public Law 280 " . . . transferred Federal jurisdiction over law and order on Indian reservations to individual states . . . "51

However, before termination was allowed to reach full momentum public sentiment in the United States rallied behind the Indian and the termination policy came under close scrutiny.

⁴⁹ McNickle, op. cit., p. 61.

⁵⁰ Wendell H. Oswalt, This Land Was Theirs: A study of the North American Indian (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966), p. 508.

⁵¹ Yarborough, Indian Education, p. 14.

The 1960's

In the 1960's stress was again placed on Indian self-determination instead of termination. The Fund for the Republic study by the Commission on Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian in its January 1961 report

. . . focused attention on the injustices of termination policy. The paternalistic attitudes and practices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the inadequate services provided Indians were criticized.⁵²

The report stressed the need for Bureau program reorganization and increased Indian participation in their own affairs. Throughout the decade of the 1960's these two issues have dominated Indian education.

After the first year, the difficulty of innovating within the Bureau of Indian Affairs' school structure and Civil Service regulations was evident when the Navaho Demonstration School was implemented at Lukachukai. The general conclusion reached at that time stressed that flexibility needed for Indian participation in their own schools was not possible within an established Bureau School.⁵³ In other words, it was not possible to provide Indian self-determination within an established Bureau school system. This

⁵²Ibid., p. 15.

⁵³Robert A. Roessel, Jr., "An Overview of the Rough Rock Demonstration School," Journal of American Indian Education, VII, No. 3 (May, 1968), 2-3.

point of view was also expressed by a former staff member who had followed the demonstration school through its transition from Lukachukai to Rough Rock. The conclusion reached clearly indicated that this interviewer felt that the old school staff at Lukachukai was simply too inflexible for such creative ideas.⁵⁴

The Rough Rock demonstration school was a product of the Economic Opportunity Act of the 1960's. It represented the high point of Indian aspirations during this decade. The opportunity to participate in and control their own educational programs stemmed from provisions in this piece of legislation.

The college extension program developed at Sisseton, South Dakota, this past year, and referred to in this study, was made possible primarily through Economic Opportunity funds and Northeast South Dakota Community Action Program organization and leadership. The author has visited a number of reservations and taught in the extension program at Sisseton. He has been impressed with the contrast between Community Action Program workers and those with the Bureau. The creativity and dynamism of the former are truly inspiring.

In contrast, the author interviewed a school staff member employed by the Bureau and found him reluctant to fraternize with Indian people during his non-teaching hours. He was clearly under

⁵⁴Personal interview at Park City, Utah, August 20, 1969.

the impression that opportunities to advance within the Bureau system would be jeopardized if he continued to invite Indian people into his home and to fraternize with them in theirs.⁵⁵ This position was expressed even though the former Commissioner of the Bureau, Robert Bennett, had previously advised school personnel who work with Indian people:

. . . to visit their homes to get an idea of how they live, meet with tribal councils to understand the goals of education for their people, involve Indian parents in school affairs, and make themselves responsible for encouraging social relations among the students.⁵⁶

Perhaps this was part of the inflexibility of staff and Civil Service regulations previously documented at Lukachukai.

The Cherokee School System of the 1800's had previously demonstrated the practicality of Collier's later philosophy. Again during the 1960's Rough Rock has shown that Indian people are active, creative individuals when they are given the freedom of choice and the opportunity to prove themselves.⁵⁷ However, the opportunity to participate in their own educational programs has remained at the demonstration level for American Indians.

⁵⁵Personal interview at Eagle Butte, Cheyenne Indian Reservation, South Dakota, August 10, 1969.

⁵⁶Lloyd B. Dennis, "American Indians: Neglected Minority," Editorial Research Reports, XI, No. 8 (August 24, 1966), 625.

⁵⁷Broderick H. Johnson, Navaho Education At Rough Rock (Rough Rock, Arizona: D. I. N. E., Inc., 1968).

A summation of what has occurred during the past few years reflects the long, inconclusive struggle for self-determination by American Indians.

The 1960's began with determined effort to seek a new policy which would alleviate Indian termination fears and reorganize the Bureau of Indian Affairs so that it could effectively provide an exemplary educational program for Indians. The 1960's are ending with these same problems unresolved.⁵⁸

I might add that the 1960's have ended with these same problems still unresolved.

In retrospect, theories that attempt to explain Indian underachievement in education as lack of motivation appear more like rationalizations for the maintenance of the explainer's rigidity of attitude toward Indians' educational potential.

⁵⁸Yarborough, Indian Education, p. 17.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

The literature on attitudes and attitude studies is extensive. However, there is a paucity of empirical studies on Indian attitudes toward education.⁵⁹ The range of definitions for attitudes is as voluminous as attitude literature per se. Literature on the related concept of value is just as extensive and varied. The meaning of value will be discussed before the conceptual interrelations between the two terms is considered. Robin Williams has found the following general characteristic to be a recurring element in value definitions:

A common notion is that value refers to any aspect of a situation, event, or object that is invested with a preferential interest as being "good," "bad," "desirable," and the like.⁶⁰

He states that a formal definition of value, containing the above notion, is too general to be usable in sociological analysis.

⁵⁹Yarborough, The Education of American Indians, p. III.

⁶⁰Robin M. Williams, Jr., American Society (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), p. 399.

"To define value as 'interest' is only another way of saying value."⁶¹ (1) He sees values as having a common conceptual element drawn from the repertoire of one's immediate experience, and (2) they are affectively charged and reflect either actual or potential emotional mobilization. The third and fourth qualities of values are concerned with the individual's hierarchy of choices. (3) Values are not the concrete goals of action, but rather the criteria by which goals are chosen. (4) Values are important, not "trivial" or of "slight concern."⁶² In an effort to avoid the "interest" definition of values, we will adopt Williams' criteria. The "common conceptual element" of values is related to the development of shared attitudes derived from similar group experiences discussed below. Their affective quality is related to shared positive sentiments expressed in the process of attitude formation and change. The attachment of goals to attitudes creates value systems.

Attitudes

Davis develops the structural approach to attitudes. Attitudes are viewed as a "... function of the structure of interpersonal relations."⁶³ He states:

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 400.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ James A. Davis, "The Sociology of Attitudes," in American Sociology: Perspectives - Problems - Methods, Ed. Talcott Parsons (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1968), pp. 19-31.

The theme is this: That our attitudes toward objects, toward others, and especially our attitudes toward that favorite object of thought, ourselves, are socially forged and socially maintained.⁶⁴

As G. H. Mead has indicated, we develop our attitudes by "internalizing" or taking over the attitudes of others.

The development of sociological theories of attitudes, according to Davis, represents an attempt to answer a series of questions asking "Which others?"⁶⁵ The theoretical framework of this study attempted to answer this question as it related to the impact of reference groups on Indian attitudes toward education. We will now place the concept of attitude into a framework whereby it can be viewed from the perspective of culture, reference group theory, and attitude change as it occurs with shifts in one's reference groups.

Culture has been defined as the total sum of learned human adjustments to the physical environment and to society.⁶⁶ Williams bases his definition on Tylor's work as the latter developed the concept in Primitive Culture. Williams quotes Tylor as follows:

Most inclusively, culture is social heredity--the total legacy of past human behavior effective in the present, representing the accumulation through generations of the artifacts, knowledges, beliefs, and values by which men deal with the world.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 21.

⁶⁶ Williams, op. cit., p. 22.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

This concept of culture emphasizes those common behavioral elements possessed by individuals socialized in the same tradition. We recognize that individuals who are defined as Indians differentially share certain common elements in their cultures and subcultures as well as sharing other elements with members of the dominant society.

Values, as a major component of culture, are related to the groups' standards of desirability. They delineate for a group of people degrees of what is considered "good or bad, beautiful or ugly, pleasant or unpleasant, appropriate or inappropriate."⁶⁸ Kluckhohn has been more specific by distinguishing between "that which is desired" and "that which is desirable."⁶⁹ According to this distinction, one may desire education but may not find its attainment desirable because of sacrifices demanded or disharmony with those reference groups associated with educational achievement. We know that Indian people tend to value education highly, hence, Kluckhohn's distinction permits us to separate desire from desirability as we attempt to account for their educational underachievement nationally.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 24.

⁶⁹ Clyde Kluckhohn, "Have There Been Discernible Shifts in American Values During the Past Generation?" in The American Style, Ed. Elting Morrison (New York: Harper, 1953), p. 204.

Allport shows us how attitudes are related to values when he states that:

Attitudes are individual mental processes which determine both the actual and potential responses of each person in the social world. Since an attitude is always directed toward some object, it may be defined as a "state of mind of the individual toward a value." Values are usually social in nature, that is to say, they are objects of common regard on the part of socialized men.⁷⁰

T. M. Newcomb states that individuals possess dominant frames of reference which tie together their attitudes. These frames of reference are guidelines that are used to evaluate experience and behavior according to one's goals. The dominant frames of reference which tie together one's attitudes are, in turn, called "Value Systems."⁷¹

We must now answer the question of how attitudes change according to the perspective of reference group theory. Siegel and Siegel studied attitude changes over time with similar and disparate reference and membership groups. They experimentally demonstrated that:

⁷⁰Gordon W. Allport, "Attitudes in the History of Social Psychology," in Attitudes, Ed. Marie Jahoda and Neil Warren (Baltimore: Penquin Books, Inc., 1966), p. 19.

⁷¹J. B. Cooper and J. L. McGaugh, "Attitudes and Related Concepts," in Attitudes, Ed. Jahoda and Warren, p. 30.

... attitude change over time is related to the group identification of the person--both his membership group identification and his reference group identification.⁷²

Identification occurs when one adopts behavior derived from another person or group because "This behavior is associated with a satisfying self-defining relationship to this person or group."⁷³ When this process of identification occurs between majority and minority group members, we will later treat it under the rubric "behavioral assimilation."

The greater the degree of self-identification with a given individual or group the more one tends to conform to it. Gordon feels that one's continuing conformity to a given group partially depends on the groups' attitude toward non-conformity.⁷⁴ Indian adults have traditionally permitted their children considerable latitude in choosing their own life goals.⁷⁵

A major assumption of this study was the expectation that positive Indian attitudes toward education would be reflected by

⁷²A. E. Siegel and S. Siegel, "Reference Group, Membership Groups, and Attitude Change," Ibid., p. 192.

⁷³H. C. Kelman, "Three Processes of Social Influence," Ibid., p. 153.

⁷⁴R. L. Gordon, "Attitudes and the Definition of the Situation," in Attitudes, Ed. Jahoda and Warren, pp. 240-255.

⁷⁵Murray L. Wax, et. al., "Formal Education in an American Indian Community," in Supplement to Social Problems, Official Journal of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, II, No. 4, (Spring, 1964), pp. 42-49.

the degree to which they identified with white culture. Secondly, favorable attitudes toward white teachers, school personnel and the school system itself would be indicative of attitudinal movement permitting assimilation and achievement in the dominant society's formal educational system. We note that structural characteristics within the Indian culture readily permit this choice to be made by Indian students.⁷⁶

Heider's theory of "structural balance" supports the above assumptions.⁷⁷ He predicts that positive sentimental ties between two or more persons will be increasingly reflected by their developing similar attitudes. The course of history has placed a large number of American Indians at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder in this country. Young people from such backgrounds go on to college less frequently than those with higher-status origins. We recognize that

. . . a high school student's attitudes toward higher education will be strongly influenced by the attitudes of his friends and those he admires.⁷⁸

A greater proportion of white students attends college than Indian students. However, the percentage of Indian students attending

⁷⁶ Clyde Kluckhohn, "The Study of Culture," in Sociological Theory: A Book of Readings, Ed. Lewis A. Coser and Bernard Rosenberg, 2nd ed., (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1965), p. 42.

⁷⁷ James A. Davis, op. cit., p. 26.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 30.

college increases when they are enrolled in integrated schools. Hence, we have direct empirical support for our assumption that shared sentiments lead to similar attitudes, which, in turn, are translated into shared values when the goal of educational achievement is added. The literature on Indian education repeatedly documents the fact that Indian students who are segregated in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools do not complete high school or continue on in college as often as their peers who attend integrated public schools.⁷⁹

Specific factors associated with explanations of Indian educational underachievement will not be dealt with in this section. They will be incorporated in a later chapter with the analysis of data. In the next chapter we shall develop reference group theory and be more explicit about its relationship to Indian education.

⁷⁹Yarborough, The Education of American Indians.

CHAPTER IV

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

At the time of the 1954 California State Senate Interim Committee Hearings on Indian Affairs, an attempt was made to define what was meant by the term Indian. Testimony drawn from these hearings indicated that a person may be classified as an Indian for some purposes with as little as 1/32 native ancestry; in other cases he needs to be 1/4 or 1/2. Mr. Leonard M. Hill, Sacramento Area Director, Bureau of Indian Affairs, stated:

I just don't think there is any definition that you can give to an Indian . . . He is an Indian for some purposes and for other purposes he isn't an Indian, so there just isn't any clear definition.⁸⁰

When Mr. Hill was pressed by Senator Way he gave up with:

I am sorry, I cannot make a definition . . . We, in the Indian Bureau, are concerned with it also. We don't know how to define an Indian.⁸¹

To further confuse the matter one may be a Tarasumaras, Yaguis or Tepehuanes and be an "Indian" in Mexico, yet, be

⁸⁰Forbes, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 2.

classified legally white in many of the 50 states.⁸² From the author's past experience, a person who is 7/8 white may stoutly affirm that he is Indian, was born and raised on the reservation, speaks the native language and never wants to leave. Another individual who is 3/8 Indian living in Minneapolis, Minnesota, may be just as adamant in insisting that he is white. Consequently, it would appear that one is Indian, if he thinks he is.

Categorically, definitions of Indianness based on legal, social and educational criteria have one major shortcoming. They do not tell us how the individual thinks about himself. Furthermore, the generic question of Indianness, whiteness, or blackness has been with us at least since the time of recorded history. Men everywhere have asked "Who am I?" or "What am I?". Sociologically and psychologically we have a partial answer from studies which have attempted to determine who a person thinks he is, who he identifies with, and who he sees as his significant others. In other words, the answer is based on what reference groups an individual aspires to, belongs to, or participates in.

Reference Group Theory

As was indicated earlier, theories of cultural conflict and lack of motivation have permeated the literature of Indian education.

⁸²Ibid.

In the area of social psychology "a few sovereign principles, such as imitation, suggestion, instinct, libido, etc." have been used to study specific cases of attitudes with a multitude of social psychological topics.⁸³ The end product of these theoretical orientations is the insulation of facts in each separate area of investigation. Sherif came to grips with the resulting dilemma when he stated:

The approaches which utilize one or two sovereign concepts tended to start and end with premature formalizations, resulting in rather "closed system" schools of social psychology, in spite of claims at being systematic and comprehensive.⁸⁴

Reference group theory allows us "to pull together a host of discrete data in various areas" and recognize "that the major sources of the individual's weighty attitudes are the values and norms of the groups to which he relates himself . . ."⁸⁵ Self-identify, then, finds its anchorage in the values and norms of the individual's reference groups.

⁸³Muzafer Sherif, "Reference Groups in Human Relations," in Sociological Theory: A Book of Readings, Ed. Lewis A. Coser and Bernard Rosenberg (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1965), p. 270.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 273.

The developmental history of reference group theory can be linked with William James' questioning on the origin of the individual's self-image over 70 years ago. He noted that, "the social self is the recognition which one receives from his mates."⁸⁶

The person's image of self . . . is taken over from the images of himself which others present to him, as indicated by their reaction of approval or disapproval. The individual learns to follow models of conduct which are suggested to him by others who are significant to him.⁸⁷

Those self-images taken over from others are not simply compartmentalized in the self-structure according to G. H. Mead. Social actors as participants take the role of the "generalized other."⁸⁸ The "generalized other" according to Mead does not mean people per se but a shared perspective. His primary focus emphasized that actual role playing was the source from which this shared perspective developed. As we are aware from reference group theory one need not actually interact with others to develop or maintain a given perspective. One may perceive reference relationships through

⁸⁶ Coser and Rosenberg, "Role-Taking and Reference Groups," op. cit., p. 259.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Tamotsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups and Social Control," in Human Behavior and Social Processes, Ed. Arnold M. Rose, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1962), pp. 131-132.

mass media or self-imagination due to personal aspirations. Hence, the concept of reference group had been broadened to include the related concept of reference relationship.⁸⁹

The term "reference group" refers to a number of other individuals, while the term "reference relationship" permits one to consider the other as a group, an individual, or oneself. Furthermore, Mead's use of the term "significant other" did not allow for its use as oneself nor did it imply degrees of significance. Both of these additional meanings are implied in this study.

Hyman first used the specific term "reference group" in a study of socio-economic status.⁹⁰ It was not possible for Hyman to predict the socio-economic status of an individual from such indices as income, occupation or education. He found, "... shifts in judgment of status with changes of the group or individual in terms of which judgment was made."⁹¹ Thus, a person's self-judgment about his socio-economic status was dependent on the groups with whom he identified.

Chapman and Volkmann's 1939 experiment found that judgments and perceptions differ depending on the individual's referential framework.⁹²

⁸⁹Rose, op. cit., pp. 3-19.

⁹⁰H. H. Hyman, "Archives of Psychology," The Psychology of Status, No. 269 (1942), 269.

⁹¹Sherif, op. cit., p. 274.

⁹²D. W. Chapman and J. A. Volkmann. "A Social Determinant of the Level of Aspiration," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, No. 34 (1939), 225-238.

The goals that the subjects set and the level of their aspirations were determined by the position of the experimental group in relationship to the subjects' own reference group.

Newcomb introduced the idea of positive and negative reference groups in 1950.⁹³ In a positive reference group one is treated as a member, thereby being motivated to reciprocate member acceptance. In a negative reference group one is either not treated as a member or rejects positive overtures, thereby maintaining motivation to oppose the group.

Merton further clarifies the concept of reference group as it extends beyond actual role playing and active participation. He states:

There is, however, the further fact that men frequently orient themselves to groups other than their own in shaping their behavior and evaluations, and it is the problems centered about this fact of orientation to non-membership groups that constitutes the distinctive concern of reference group theory.⁹⁴

He, further, notes that reference group theory must ultimately account for both membership and non-membership group orientations. We have documented the fact, previously, that Indian people cannot simply be categorically classified by means of external criteria. Reference group theory permits analysis of the junction between their

⁹³T. M. Newcomb. Social Psychology (New York: Dryden Press, 1950).

⁹⁴Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: The Free Press, 1957), p. 282.

participation in both Indian and white culture. Merton pointed out one other problem area for reference group theory. How do we establish criteria for group membership? His answer was that group membership is based on three criteria: (1) a number of people interact with one another, (2) interacting persons define themselves as members, and (3) the persons in interaction are defined by others as belonging to the group.⁹⁵

Mr. Hill's problem of trying to define an Indian appears to stem from a historical fondness of classifying people by racial type rather than life style, group identifications or some other social psychological conceptualizations. Degrees of Indianness become an insurmountable problem, sociologically speaking, when one is enamored with physical types. In contrast, reference group theory allows one to consider cultural and group identification by degrees along a continuum. Chippewa, Sioux and Winnebago peoples in Minnesota, South Dakota and Nebraska have long recognized this distinction with special names for white-Indians (whites who share Indian group perspectives) and Indian-whites (Indians who share the white group perspectives). Secondly, they perceive individual movement in either direction along this continuum.

Relationship Between Reference Group Theory and Indian Attitudes Toward Education

As was previously noted, the dominant policy in Indian education during the first 300 years was to make native Americans fit the image

⁹⁵Ibid., pp. 285-286.

of Western Europeans. After the church's influence waned, the Federal Government continued the practices of mandatory assimilation into the 1960's with the exception of Collier's program under the Roosevelt Administration. However, " . . . it must be realized that 'assimilation' is a blanket term which in reality covers a multitude of subprocesses."⁹⁶ Before we review the major subprocesses from the perspective of reference group theory, we should briefly consider the historical development of Indian and white intergroup relations.

Before the white man had gained political, economic and military control over the North American continent, contact between Indians and whites frequently resulted in the whites' adopting the Indian's ways rather than the reverse. Michel Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur made this observation about Indian culture in 1782:

It cannot be, therefore, so bad as we generally conceived it to be; there must be in the Indian's social bond something singularly captivating, and far superior to be boasted of among us; for thousands of Europeans are Indians, and we have no examples of even one of those Aborigines having from choice become Europeans.⁹⁷

This easy transition to Indianization has been explained by analyzing structural features of Indian societies. The Indian was hospitable

⁹⁶Milton M. Gordon. "Assimilation in America: Theory and Reality," in Minority Responses, Ed., Minako Kurokawa, (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 90.

⁹⁷Peter Farb. Man's Rise to Civilization (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1968), p. 262.

and eager to share to such an extent that early contacts were generally defined as "idyllic." If one married an Indian, he was adopted fully into Indian society with the same rights and obligations as any native-born member. He was not sorted according to skin color, socio-economic status or theories of innate inferiority, but became a full participant in the existing native institutional structures.

Farb explains the reason why transculturation did not work the other way:

The answer is that the white settlers possessed no traditions and institutions comparable to the 'Indian's' hospitality and sharing, adoption, and complete social integration.⁹⁸

However, Indians have become part of the larger society through forced assimilation. The magnitude of miscegenation is evident when one considers that between 10 and 16 million white and non-Indian minority peoples in the United States can trace their ancestry back to the first Americans.⁹⁹

Gordon has reviewed assimilation in America as theory and reality with this conclusion:

It is quite likely that 'Anglo-conformity' in its most moderate aspects, however explicit its

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 264.

⁹⁹Forbes, op. cit., pp. 142-163.

formulation, has been the most prevalent ideology of assimilation goals in America throughout the nation's history.¹⁰⁰

"Anglo-conformity" is a general term expressing the desirability of maintaining modified English institutions, the English language, and English oriented cultural patterns as dominant and standard in American life.¹⁰¹ This point is evident from Chapter II of the present study. "Anglo-conformity" and forced assimilation did not permit freedom of choice for the native population. When one reviews the highly significant educational progress made by the Cherokee and the Navahos at Rough Rock this lack of freedom becomes a crucial element in an attempt to explain Indian subeducation in the United States. Regarding minority-white intergroup relations in the United States, Gordon has summarized the dilemma this way:

A saying of the current day is 'It takes two to tango.' To apply the analogy, there is no good reason to believe that white protestant America has ever extended a firm and cordial invitation to its minorities to dance.¹⁰²

Viewing assimilation from the above perspective permits consideration of Indianness and whiteness in terms of degrees along

¹⁰⁰Gordon, op. cit., p. 87.

¹⁰¹Ibid.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 92.

a continuum. It would appear that the difficulty of defining who is an Indian stems from an either-or polarization which ignores historical and contemporary subprocesses of assimilation.

The specific breakdown of assimilation subprocesses is two-fold. First, "behavioral assimilation . . . refers to the absorption of the cultural behavior patterns of the 'host' society."¹⁰³ The specific term that is normally used as a label for this process is "acculturation," and, further, it implies a two-way sharing process. Hence, unless one assumes innate superiority of his own culture, in all respects, such processes as "Indianization" and, conversely, the occurrence of white-Indians is to be anticipated. Therefore, the expressions of this acculturative process are evident both on and off the reservation.

The second major subprocess that Gordon refers to is "structural assimilation." Structural assimilation occurs when individuals have gained entrance into " . . . social cliques, organizations, institutional activities, and general civic life of the receiving society."¹⁰⁴ The end result of this second stage of assimilation is primary group relationships with social reciprocity

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 90.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., pp. 90-91.

at all levels. Conversely, the first assimilative subprocess emphasizes secondary contacts and relationships.

The educational history of American Indians outlined in this paper has recounted a number of factors which have retarded structural assimilation, such as the quest for Indian land, racial conflict, and Anglo-conformity. The subeducation of Indian children, as well as other children of non-white minorities, has been well documented and analyzed in light of these structural factors.¹⁰⁵

Reference group theory is a germane framework within which to analyze Indian education in light of this desiderata. Forced assimilation has meant mandatory acceptance of the dominant society's values and norms for those Indian people moving into its structural framework through higher education. Schermerhorn has, however, reminded us that the task of superordinates is a dual one of privilege and responsibility. He says that the dominant group is:

That collectivity within a society which has preeminent authority to function as guardians and sustainers of the controlling value system, and as prime allocators of rewards in the society.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵Louis L. Knowles and Kenneth Prewitt, Eds. Institutional Racism in America (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969).

¹⁰⁶R. A. Schermerhorn, Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 23.

The Indian has attempted to retain his own cultural values without having been given this freedom to choose by the dominant culture. Self-identity is derived from the values and norms held by significant others. It is quite understandable in a miscegenated pluralistic society why some individuals have asked the author to tell them whether they are Indian or white. It is also understandable why some people who strongly identify with native cultures have used various groups in the dominant society as negative reference groups. In either case a tendency to reduce one's own identity crisis seems evident.

In conclusion, structural assimilation historically has resulted in miscegenation and the loss of valuable talent from various Indian cultures and subcultures. Behavioral assimilation has occurred through the policy of forced assimilation as the dominant educational policy of the Federal Government. Therefore, it would appear reasonable to increase Indian freedom of choice in the educational sphere along lines laid down by Collier. Finally, referential membership and non-membership should logically exist to varying degrees. This study has been concerned with the continuum of assimilation in its analysis of those Indian people who pursue or do not pursue higher education when given the opportunity.

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

We have previously noted that educational achievement of American Indians has occurred under two major sets of conditions. One set of conditions concerns those Indian peoples who were forcibly assimilated into the larger society, thereby acquiring cultural and social attributes of the dominant groups. This process has resulted in miscegenation and a concomitant loss of language, culture, tradition, and associated behaviors. Educational progress for this group appears to approximate that of the white majority with the completion of behavioral and structural assimilation. Loss of "Indianness" for the group is reflected by their increasing identification with and participation in the dominant society's institutions on an intergenerational basis.

The second set of conditions, reflecting the most rapid educational progress for Indian peoples, has been documented in the literature by references to the Cherokee's indigenous educational program and the current educational system at Rough Rock. Historically, then, educational progress appears to be facilitated through programs which recognize the cultural pluralism existing in American society. National educational policies have resulted in the

destruction of Indian educational programs based on principles of cultural pluralism. The exception is the "new innovations" with the Navaho in Arizona.

Members of the sample population in this study are theoretically approached from a position which assumes the existence of the first set of conditions presented above.

Criteria for Selection of Subgroups

An implicit assumption in this study has been that the assimilation of American Indians into the dominant society will occur in successive stages. The greater the Indian's participation in and identification with the larger culture and the school system the more favorable will be his attitudes toward education. We have noted, however, that educational advancement appears to occur in a shorter period of time when the school system is structured to meet the social and cultural conditions that exist within a given tribal unit.

Special programs of Indian education, emphasizing their culture, language, and identity, exist only at the demonstration level in the United States. Subgroups for this study were selected in an effort to explore the relationship between successive stages of assimilation and Indian attitudes toward education.

The first subgroup consisted of full-time Indian college students on campus at South Dakota State University, Brookings, South Dakota. It was assumed that members of this group would possess the most positive attitudes toward education of the total sample and reflect a greater degree of assimilation in the dominant culture.

The second subgroup consisted of part-time Indian college extension students enrolled in Northeast South Dakota Community Action Program classes conducted on the Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Indian Reservation at Sisseton, South Dakota, during the academic year, 1969-70.

The third subgroup was made up of Indian high school graduates who had never participated in either part or full-time college programs. As high school graduates, members of this latter group were eligible to participate in the college extension classes referred to above. Free tuition and books were provided; hence, financial hardship was not considered to be the major factor discouraging participation. Thus, all Indian people in the total sample had an opportunity to participate in either full or part-time college programs.

The first objective of this study is primarily an exploration and description¹⁰⁷ of the characteristics associated with members of these three Indian subgroups. However, the second objective, stated in Chapter I, is fulfilled by statistically exploring those variables derived from a review of the literature, which are considered to be related to Indian attitudes toward education.

Collection of Data

The administration of the questionnaire occurred during the months of April and May, 1970. It was primarily administered by

¹⁰⁷Claire Selltitz, et. al. Research Methods in Social Relations (Chicago: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), pp. 49-78.

Indian people who were personally acquainted with most of the members of each of the three subgroups.

A list of all Indian students attending South Dakota State University was acquired from the campus personnel office. This list contained the names of twenty students. At the time the questionnaire was administered, three of the twenty students had left campus and a fourth refused to complete the questionnaire. This student did not want to be identified with American Indians even though the student was attending the University on an Indian scholarship. Permission to administer the questionnaire was obtained from the Indian Campus Club and it was administered by a senior Indian student.

The thirteen Indian college extension students were told about the study by the author as he was their instructor both fall and spring semesters, 1969-70. They verbally agreed to complete the questionnaire and expressed their desire to support and maintain the extension program in the future. Before these students were given the questionnaire further approval was acquired from the Northeast South Dakota Community Action Program Director and the Assistant Director, Mr. Warren Green and Mr. Chris Johnson. These gentlemen also gave their permission and support to the interview of the eligible non-participants in subgroup three. Finally, as secretary of the Tribal Council, Mr. Johnson obtained permission for the study from this body.

The eligible nonparticipants initially represented a group of twenty Indian people who had been informed of the extension program by Community Action Program employees. A list containing their names was

compiled during the past academic year. However, when the questionnaire was administered, it was found that three members were not eligible college students because they had not yet completed their high school equivalency exams.

Nine of the thirteen Indian college extension students were administered the questionnaire by the author after completion of the second extension course, spring semester, 1970. They freely gave of their own time by coming to the Community Action Program office to answer the questionnaire. The remaining four students had been in class during the fall semester and were administered the questionnaire by an Indian person who had been their classmate at that time.

The Questionnaire

After consultation with Indian students on campus at South Dakota State University and Indian extension students at Sisseton, a questionnaire was selected instead of an interview schedule. All Indian people interviewed stated that honest responses would be more probable if anonymity were guaranteed. Hence, individual names were not recorded on the questionnaire. The questionnaire was constructed so that it could be self-administered after a brief explanation. The pretest indicated that this would be feasible.

The instrument was constructed primarily from information and notes contained in a personal diary kept by the author while teaching in the Northeast South Dakota Community Action Program extension courses this past year. Compilation of the diary was guided by a

review of the literature and personal interviews with Indian people since 1964.

The first part of the schedule included personal data covering the respondent's family, tribal, occupational, parental, religious, vocational, and educational background. This section also contained information for six of the independent variables used in the statistical analysis. These variables were age, high school grade point average, encouragement to continue higher education, high school activities participated in, high school offices held, and high school sports activities.

The second part of the questionnaire consisted of 87 attitude questions adapted to a Likert-type scale.¹⁰⁸

Scales

The dependent variable, attitudes toward education, was partially constructed and drawn from Rundquist and Sletto's Likert-type scale.¹⁰⁹ Additional questions were derived from Glassey¹¹⁰ and modified to the five-point Likert-type scale. All 87 attitude

¹⁰⁸ Bernard S. Phillips, Social Research: Strategy and Tactics (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1966), pp. 184-185.

¹⁰⁹ Marvin E. Shaw and Jack M. Wright, Scales for the Measurement of Attitudes (St. Louis: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967), pp. 233-234.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 234-236.

questions were constructed to be compatible with this scaling technique.¹¹¹

Independent variables number eight and nine, attitudes toward Whites as a group and attitudes toward Indians as a group, were derived from Grice and Remmers' "Scale to Measure Attitudes Toward Defined Groups."¹¹² The same questions were used for both scales with substitution of the words White and Indian respectively.

Independent variable number fifteen, anomia, consists of a five-question scale developed by Srole. However, Meier and Bell, in a critical analysis of the scale, suggest that despair represents a large part of what the scale measures.¹¹³ A separate scale, independent variable number twelve, fatalism, treats despair as a separate factor. The Coleman study concluded that Indian students tend to be less convinced than whites that they can control their environment and future.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹A copy of all the attitude scales used in this questionnaire are included in Appendix B as the questions were mixed in the questionnaire as administered.

¹¹²Marvin E. Shaw and Jack M. Wright, op. cit., pp. 410-413.

¹¹³Dorothy L. Meier and Wendell Bell, "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals," American Sociological Review, XXIV (April, 1959), 189-202.

¹¹⁴James S. Coleman, et. al. Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966), pp. 217-334.

Scale number sixteen, self-concept, was based on the findings of Hobart that "damaged self-concept" is a major factor in Indian underachievement and academic failure.¹¹⁵

Research Hypotheses

Previous discussion of the theoretical framework and the review of literature indicated that increased participation in and identification with individuals and groups representing the dominant society would be related to positive Indian attitudes toward education. The sample was broken down into three Indian subgroups: (1) full-time college students from South Dakota State University; (2) part-time extension students; and (3) eligible nonparticipants from the Sisseton, South Dakota, Tri-county area. The following hypothesis and subhypotheses were derived from this theoretical framework:

1. There is no relationship between full-time, part-time and eligible nonparticipants in their attitudes toward education.
 - a. There is no relationship between full-time, part-time and eligible nonparticipants in their attitudes toward school.
 - b. There is no relationship between full-time, part-time and eligible nonparticipants in their attitudes toward teachers.

¹¹⁵Charles W. Hobart, "Underachievement Among Minority Group Students: An Analysis and a Proposal," Phylon, XXIV (February, 1963), 184-196.

- c. There is no relationship between full-time, part-time and eligible nonparticipants in their attitudes toward non-teaching school personnel.
- d. There is no relationship between full-time, part-time and eligible nonparticipants in their attitudes toward White school peers.
- e. There is no relationship between full-time, part-time and eligible nonparticipants in their perceived parental attitudes toward education.
- f. There is no relationship between full-time, part-time and eligible nonparticipants in their attitudes toward employment.
- g. There is no relationship between full-time, part-time and eligible nonparticipants in their attitudes toward education as a necessity.
- h. There is no relationship between full-time, part-time and eligible nonparticipants in their attitudes toward whites as a group.
- i. There is no relationship between full-time, part-time and eligible nonparticipants in their attitudes toward Indians as a group.
- j. There is no relationship between full-time, part-time and eligible nonparticipants in their American Indian Culture Identifications.

- k. There is no relationship between full-time, part-time and eligible nonparticipants in their Dominant American Culture Identifications.
- l. There is no relationship between full-time, part-time and eligible nonparticipants in their attitudes toward fatalism.
- m. There is no relationship between full-time, part-time and eligible nonparticipants in their ages.
- n. There is no relationship between full-time, part-time and eligible nonparticipants in their high school grade point averages.
- o. There is no relationship between full-time, part-time and eligible nonparticipants in anomia.
- p. There is no relationship between full-time, part-time and eligible nonparticipants in their self-concepts.
- q. There is no relationship between full-time, part-time and eligible nonparticipants in their encouragement to continue college education.
- r. There is no relationship between full-time, part-time and eligible nonparticipants in their high school activities.
- s. There is no relationship between full-time, part-time and eligible nonparticipants in high school offices held.

t. There is no relationship between full-time, part-time and eligible nonparticipants in their participation in high school sports.

Analysis Procedure

The questionnaire was scored on a five-point Likert-type scale with (+5) representing strongly agree, (+1) representing strongly disagree and (+3) reflecting a neutral response. Cumulative frequency distributions were tabulated for each variable and coded for IBM processing.

The statistical method used to analyze the data was multiple linear correlation.¹¹⁶ The independent variables were tested for their relationship to the dependent variable, attitudes toward education, with the use of a computer step-wise multiple linear correlation program. Independent variables which explain the variation in the dependent variable in descending order of importance are selected by the program. A three-category dummy variable, attitudes toward education, was used as an additional independent variable in an effort to determine the weighted effect of membership in each of the three subgroups on the regression equation.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶Hubert M. Blalock, Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1960), pp. 326-358.

¹¹⁷Daniel B. Suits, "Use of Dummy Variables in Regression Equations," Journal of American Statistical Association, LII, (December, 1957).

Definition of Terms

The basic terms and concepts used in this study that have not been previously defined in the "Review of the Literature" and "The Theoretical Framework" are:

1. "Self-concept" was defined as the way an individual conceives of himself.¹¹⁸ One's self-concept
 - (a) develops through his interaction with significant others, especially his family and peers; (b) the individual's academic achievement is related to a positive self-concept;¹¹⁹ and (c) the Indian's self-concept will reflect "the attitudes and opinions of the dominant non-Indian majority."¹²⁰
2. "Culture" was defined as "the total sum of learned human adjustments to the physical environment and to society" in Chapter III. The term "subculture" was defined as a partial "design for living," a definition which recognizes that American Indian peoples share many cultural factors with the dominant society while retaining other cultural factors derived from their separate tribal histories.

¹¹⁸William L. Kolb, Ed. A Dictionary of the Social Sciences (New York: The Free Press, 1964), p. 630.

¹¹⁹Yarborough, The Education of American Indians, p. 67.

¹²⁰Ibid.

3. "Cultural identification" was defined as a satisfying self-defining relationship to a given culture or subculture.
4. "Fatalism" was defined as a set of individual attitudes expressing the conviction that one cannot effect his own environment or future.
5. "Anomia" was defined as a psychological concept which refers to feelings of despair and hopelessness in the face of what are perceived as overwhelming circumstances. Durkheim's concept of anomie, on the other hand, refers to a societal condition of normlessness.¹²¹

¹²¹Gwynn Nettler, "A Measure of Alienation," American Sociological Review, XXII (December 1957), 670-677.

CHAPTER VI

THE FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

Introduction

The first objective of the study is to describe and compare full-time Indian college students, on campus at South Dakota State University, with part-time college extension students and college-eligible nonparticipants from the Sisseton Reservation Area. Textual and tabular analysis deals with 29 educational and social characteristics derived from a review of the literature.

The second major objective of the study is to ascertain those relevant variables related to Indian attitudes toward education. These factors were selected through the use of a computer step-wise multiple correlation program. Presentation of the findings follows the order given above.

Descriptive and Comparative Characteristics

Tabular comparison of the subgroups does not utilize percentages because of the relatively small sample size. Blalock's rule of thumb is followed when he states that one should:

. . . never compute a percentage unless the number of cases on which the percentage is based is in the neighborhood of 50 or more.¹²²

¹²²Blalock, op. cit., p. 28.

Sex

Artichoker and Palmer found that the typical Indian college student is more likely to be male than female.¹²³ There is a slight majority of female college students on campus at South Dakota State University. This female majority increases as we move to part-time college students and eligible nonparticipants. On the basis of the total sample the female is twice as likely to be enrolled in either a part or full-time college program than is the male.

TABLE 1

Sex

| | Male | Female | Total |
|--------------------------|------|--------|-------|
| Full-time Students | 7 | 9 | 16 |
| Part-time Students | 3 | 10 | 13 |
| Eligible Nonparticipants | 1 | 16 | 17 |
| Total | 11 | 35 | 46 |

In 1960 "approximately 76 per cent of the men and 60 per cent of the women had not completed high school," in the Sisseton Reservation Area.¹²⁴ The female-male dichotomy presented

¹²³ John Artichoker and Neil M. Palmer, The Sioux Indian Goes to College (Vermillion: Institute of Indian Studies, University of South Dakota, 1959).

¹²⁴ "The Resources of the Sisseton Reservation Area," Report No. 192 (Billings, Montana: Missouri River Basin Investigation Project, United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, May, 1969), p. 23.

above is even more understandable when we look at the percentage of Indian-white high school graduates from the Sisseton Reservation Area. The percentage of Indians 25 years of age and older who had graduated from high school is approximately two-thirds that of the white population.

Marital Status

The second table indicates that marital status does not appreciably distinguish between the part-time college students and the eligible nonparticipants. As one would anticipate, there are fewer married full-time college students than nonmarried.

TABLE 2

Marital Status

| | Full-time Students | Part-time Students | Eligible Participants |
|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| Married | 3 | 6 | 9 |
| Single | 11 | 3 | 2 |
| Divorced | 1 | 4 | 1 |
| Separated | 1 | -- | 3 |
| Widowed | -- | -- | 2 |
| Total | 16 | 13 | 17 |

Percentage Indian

Earlier in the study we noted that the degree of assimilation into the dominant culture was expected to be positively associated with increased educational participation. This trend is clearly evident in the following table. The typical Indian student at South Dakota State University is one-quarter Indian, whereas the typical nonparticipant is three-quarters Indian. If educational participation and assimilation is found to be positively associated in subsequent studies, we would have a partial explanation for the failure of most college-educated Indians to return to the reservation.

TABLE 3

Percentage Indian

| | 1/8 | 2/8 | 3/8 | 4/8 | 5/8 | 6/8 | 7/8 | 8/8 | Average |
|-------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|
| Full-time Students | 1 | 14 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 23% |
| Part-time Students | 2 | 1 | 2 | - | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 63% |
| Eligible Non- participants | - | - | - | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 4 | 74% |
| Total | 3 | 15 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 7 | 3 | 7 | |

Age

The typical part-time Indian college student is between 25 and 35 years of age, according to this study. Hence, part-time college extension programs, conducted on the reservation, can potentially

provide trained leaders who have not yet reached their peak years of occupational productivity.

TABLE 4

Age

| Years | Full-time Students | Part-time Students | Eligible Nonparticipants | Total |
|----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 18-24 | 14 | 2 | 2 | 18 |
| 25-34 | 2 | 9 | 8 | 19 |
| 35-44 | -- | - | 2 | 2 |
| 45-54 | -- | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| 55-64 | -- | -- | 3 | 3 |
| Average* | 22.06 | 31.27 | 37.32 | |

*Grouped data midpoints have been used to compute averages in Tables 4, 9, and 10.

Place of Birth

Approximately 17 per cent of the part and full-time Indian students in the total sample were born outside of South Dakota. In that geographical mobility tends to increase with education, we would anticipate a higher rate of outmigration for full-time college students than for part-time students who live on the reservation.

TABLE 5

Place of Birth

| | South Dakota | Out of State |
|--------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Full-time Students | 11 | 5 |
| Part-time Students | 10 | 3 |
| Eligible Nonparticipants | <u>17</u> | - |
| Total | 38 | 8 |

Registered Tribal Members

Table 6 shows an increasing association between nonregistered tribal members and educational participation. Reference group theory predicts that increased identification will result from increased participation.

TABLE 6

Registered Tribal Members

| | Registered | Nonregistered |
|--------------------------|------------|---------------|
| Full-time Students | 11 | 5 |
| Part-time Students | 10 | 3 |
| Eligible Nonparticipants | <u>16</u> | <u>1</u> |
| Total | 37 | 9 |

On-Off Reservation Preference

The following table reflects the desire of two-thirds of the Indians in the total sample to live off the reservation. A large majority of full and part-time college students do not desire to return to or remain on the reservation. A recurring comment that this author has encountered over the past six years is that job opportunities are greater for educated Indians if they leave the reservation. Educated Indians would appear to be just as desirous of maximizing their occupational opportunities as their white peers.

TABLE 7

Sample Members Who Prefer to Live
On or Off the Reservation

| | Prefer to Live on Reservation | Prefer to Live off Reservation |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Full-time Students | 3 | 13 |
| Part-time Students | 3 | 10 |
| Eligible Nonparticipants | 9 | 7 |
| Total | 15 | 30 |

Encouragement to Continue College

Table 8 indicates that the average number of significant others encouraging sample members to pursue a college education increases positively from eligible nonparticipants to full-time college students. The table also suggests that tribal encouragement is not very frequently reported by the respondents.

TABLE 8

Sources of Encouragement to
Pursue a College Education

| Source of Information | Full-time Students | Part-time Students | Eligible Nonparticipants |
|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| Parents | 15 | 6 | 3 |
| Relatives | 13 | 13 | 3 |
| Brother or Sisters | 14 | 6 | 2 |
| The Tribe | 3 | 4 | 1 |
| Teachers | 15 | 4 | 4 |
| Others | <u>5</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>1</u> |
| Average for All Sources | 4 | 2.6 | .8 |

Respondents' Children

Table 9 indicates that the respondent's number of children (family of procreation) is not appreciably different for part-time students or eligible nonparticipants. A textual comparison with full-time college students is not made because of age and marital status differences.

TABLE 9

Number of Children for Respondents

| | Full-time Students | Part-time Students | Eligible Nonparticipants |
|---------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Zero | 13 | 2 | 2 |
| 1 - 2 | 2 | 7 | 8 |
| 3 - 4 | -- | 1 | 4 |
| 5 - 6 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| 7 - 8 | -- | - | - |
| 9 - 10 | -- | - | 1 |
| 11 - 12 | -- | 1 | 1 |
| Average | .53 | 2.38 | 3.08 |

Respondents' Siblings

The number of brothers and sisters in the respondent's family of orientation shows continuous distribution in the following table.

TABLE 10

Number of Brothers and Sisters for Respondents

| | Full-time Students | Part-time Students | Eligible Nonparticipants |
|---------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Zero | 1 | - | 1 |
| 1 - 2 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| 3 - 4 | 8 | 4 | 6 |
| 5 - 6 | 2 | 4 | 1 |
| 7 - 8 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| 9 - 10 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 11 - 12 | 1 | - | - |
| Average | 4.78 | 4.88 | 4.93 |

Population Size of Respondent's Home Residence

The following table indicates a slight positive association between size of respondent's home residence and part and full-time college participation. This table should be interpreted with caution because the college extension classes for the part-time students were conducted in the community of Sisseton itself.

TABLE 11

Population Size of Respondent's Home Residence

| | Open Farm (0-499) | Village (500-1499) | Town (1500-2499) | City (2500 above) |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Full-time Students | 6 | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| Part-time Students | 3 | 2 | - | 8 |
| Eligible Nonparticipants | 8 | 2 | 1 | 6 |
| Total | 17 | 5 | 5 | 19 |

Weekly Wage

It was recognized in the interpretation of the weekly wage table that part-time employment and occupations that involve full-time church work tend to decrease the average wage. Furthermore, a number of the females employed full-time are working in beginning clerical positions and receive the minimum wage. Full-time students on campus at South Dakota State University are pursuing full-time college programs and only supplement their incomes as time permits. Finally,

the average income difference for part-time college students and eligible nonparticipants may represent an important difference when one considers the similarity of family size for the two subgroups.

TABLE 12

Weekly Wage*

| Dollars | Full-time Students | Part-time Students | Eligible Nonparticipants |
|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 0 - 24 | 16 | 1 | 5 |
| 25 - 49 | -- | 3 | 1 |
| 50 - 74 | -- | -- | 1 |
| 75 - 99 | -- | 4 | 3 |
| 100 - 149 | -- | 2 | 2 |
| 150 - 200 | -- | 2 | -- |
| Average | \$ 2.25 | \$ 82.58 | \$ 54.12 |

* Actual weekly wage of respondents was used to compute averages.

Spouses' Employment Status

The income difference between part-time college students and eligible nonparticipants would appear to be an even stronger factor associated with participation or nonparticipation when we recognize that approximately one-half of the nonparticipants were the families' breadwinners. The following table clarifies this association.

TABLE 13

Employment Status of Wife or Husband

| Employment Status | Full-time Students | Part-time Students | Eligible Nonparticipants | Total |
|------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|-------|
| Full-time | 1 | 5 | 3 | 14 |
| Part-time | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Unemployed or Deceased | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| Unmarried | 13 | 6 | 6 | 25 |

Income Sources

The full-time college student derives most of his income from sources other than personal employment. Nine of the 16 students reported that The Bureau of Indian Affairs was their major source of financial support. Three students were being aided primarily by their tribes. One of the remaining three students was being supported by his parents, one by the G.I. Bill, and one through scholarships and loans.

Length of Time on Present Job

The average length of time that the part-time student had held his present job was three years. The range of years employed for this subgroup was from less than one year to over fifteen. The average eligible nonparticipants had held their present jobs for slightly less than one year. No one in this second group had been on

his present job for more than four years. When we couple this data with the lower average weekly wage for the nonparticipants we can hypothesize that money for baby sitters and transportation may be a major hurdle to overcome if nonparticipants desire to participate in tuition-free extension courses.

A Better Job Through Extension

In terms of occupational betterment, the following table indicates that eligible nonparticipants and part-time college students both view extension courses quite positively. The "no" and "not applicable" responses for the part-time students and eligible nonparticipants were made by individuals above 50 years of age.

TABLE 14

Do You Feel You Can Get A Better Job By
Taking College Extension Courses?

| | Yes | No | Not Applicable |
|--------------------------------|-----------|----------|----------------|
| Full-time Students | 10 | 3 | 3 |
| Part-time Students | 12 | 1 | * |
| Eligible Nonparticipants (14)* | <u>11</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>1</u> |
| Total | 33 | 6 | 4 |

*Three eligible nonparticipants did not answer this question.

Work Satisfaction

Completion responses on the questionnaire indicate that Indian people from the Sisseton Reservation Area would ideally like to have full-time jobs as teachers, social workers, nurses, business managers, etc. Nevertheless, we find overwhelmingly that they express satisfaction with their present jobs. The following table should be interpreted with the understanding that approximately one-half of the residents in the Sisseton Reservation Area are living at or below established poverty limits.

TABLE 15

Response to Question: "Do You Enjoy Your Work?"

| | Yes | No | Not Applicable | Total |
|--------------------------|-----|----|----------------|-------|
| Full-time Students | 3 | - | 13 | 16 |
| Part-time Students | 13 | - | - | 13 |
| Eligible Nonparticipants | 13 | - | 2 | 15 |
| Total | 29 | - | 15 | 44 |

Occupational Criteria

Table 16 reflects the feelings of 30 per cent of the interviewees from the Sisseton Reservation Area that they are qualified for jobs that they have been unable to get. Twenty-one per cent of these two subgroups feel they have been denied jobs because they are Indian, according to Table 17. Table 18 indicates that 71 per cent

of the part-time college students and eligible nonparticipants feel that lack of education is the main reason why they have not been able to get better jobs. It is concluded from these data and Table 14 above that a large majority of Indians in the sample perceive increased education to be the road to occupational betterment. However, one out of five respondents from the Sisseton Reservation Area report that they have been denied jobs because they are Indian.

TABLE 16

Are You Qualified For Jobs In This Area
That You Are Unable To Get?

| | Yes | No | Don't Know | Total |
|--------------------------|----------|----------|------------|-----------|
| Full-time Students | 1 | 11 | 4 | 16 |
| Part-time Students | 3 | 10 | - | 13 |
| Eligible Nonparticipants | <u>5</u> | <u>7</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>14</u> |
| Total | 9 | 28 | 6 | 43 |

TABLE 17

Have You Ever Been Denied A Job
Because You Are An Indian?

| | Yes | No | Don't Know | Total |
|--------------------------|----------|----------|------------|-----------|
| Full-time Students | - | 14 | 2 | 16 |
| Part-time Students | 2 | 9 | 2 | 13 |
| Eligible Nonparticipants | <u>4</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>15</u> |
| Total | 6 | 32 | 6 | 44 |

TABLE 18

Do You Feel That Not Having More Education
Is The Main Reason That You Have Not
Been Able To Get Better Jobs?

| | Yes | No | Not Applicable | Total |
|--------------------------|-----|----|----------------|-------|
| Full-time Students | 10 | 2 | 4 | 16 |
| Part-time Students | 8 | 4 | 1 | 13 |
| Eligible Nonparticipants | 11 | 4 | = | 15 |
| Total | 29 | 10 | 5 | 44 |

Parents' Education

The following data indicate a steady educational advance for sample members over their parents. No respondents who have not at least completed high school were included in this study. It appears that Indian people of the older generation who have had some college not only encourage their children along these lines but are able to help them realize higher educational goals. Also, Table 19 implies that a slightly higher educational attainment by mothers of the nonparticipants has not been sufficient to influence their children to pursue a college education.

TABLE 19

Average Number of Years of School
Completed by Mother and Father

| | Father | Number Reporting | Mother | Number Reporting |
|--------------------------|--------|---------------------|--------|---------------------|
| Full-time Students | 13.2 | (13) | 14 | (13) |
| Part-time Students | 8.8 | (11) | 8.4 | (12) |
| Eligible Nonparticipants | 8.1 | (11) | 9.5 | (12) |

Church and Religious Data

The religious preferences of the respondents indicate that not one individual in the total sample reports being a member of a traditional Indian religion or the Native American Church. It is concluded, therefore, that behavioral assimilation is well advanced for this group.

The slight difference in frequency of church attendance by the respondents is explained by reference to age differences and marital statuses. College-age individuals in the American society tend to increase attendance and membership after their own families are started.

Table 22 shows that a majority of the respondents in each subgroup are not active in any church organization. Only one full-time college student reported participation in any church organization. Again, this is explained by reference to age and

marital status. It is concluded that lack of participation in church organizations for a majority of all subgroups is an indirect indication of limited structural assimilation. However, this conclusion is merely hypothetical because statistics regarding church organization participation for whites in the Sisseton Reservation Area are not available.

TABLE 20

Religious Preference of Respondents

| | Full-time Students | Part-time Students | Eligible Nonparticipants | Total |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| Protestant | 5 | 7 | 13 | 25 |
| Catholic | 7 | 4 | 1 | 12 |
| Mormon | 1 | 1 | -- | 2 |
| Native American Tradition | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| Other | 1 | 1 | 3 | 5 |
| None | 2 | -- | -- | 2 |

TABLE 21

Church Attendance by Respondents

| | Full-time Students | Part-time Students | Eligible Nonparticipants | Total |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|----------|
| More than weekly | -- | 2 | 4 | 6 |
| Weekly | 5 | 5 | 4 | 14 |
| Monthly | 2 | 3 | 7 | 12 |
| Special holidays | 7 | 1 | 11 | 9 |
| Never | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>--</u> | <u>4</u> |
| Total | 16 | 13 | 16 | 45 |

TABLE 22

Number of Church Organizations in
Which Respondents Participate

| | Full-time Students | Part-time Students | Eligible Nonparticipants | Total |
|-------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|----------|
| 0 | 15 | 8 | 9 | 32 |
| 1 | 0 | 4 | 7 | 11 |
| 2 | <u>1</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>3</u> |
| Total | 16 | 13 | 17 | 46 |

Parents' Religious Preferences

The following two tables provide information on the religious preferences of the respondents' parents. It was anticipated from the theoretical framework that parental adherents to traditional or the Native American religion would be most likely to appear amongst the eligible nonparticipant subgroup. Only two respondents in the total sample report a parent with this religious orientation, and they come from the part-time college student subgroup. It is difficult to support or reject this aspect of the theoretical framework because of the small numbers involved.

TABLE 23

Religious Preference of Mother

| | Full-time Students | Part-time Students | Eligible Nonparticipants | Total |
|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| Protestant | 8 | 8 | 12 | 28 |
| Catholic | 7 | 2 | 1 | 10 |
| Mormon | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Native American | - | - | - | - |
| Traditional | - | - | - | - |
| Other | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| None | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Don't Know | - | - | 2 | 2 |
| Total | 16 | 13 | 15 | 44 |

TABLE 24

Religious Preference of Father

| | Full-time Students | Part-time Students | Eligible Nonparticipants | Total |
|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|----------|
| Protestant | 9 | 7 | 13 | 29 |
| Catholic | 3 | 2 | 1 | 6 |
| Mormon | - | - | - | - |
| Native American | - | - | - | - |
| Traditional | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Other | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| None | 1 | 1 | - | 2 |
| Don't Know | <u>2</u> | <u>-</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>3</u> |
| Total | 15 | 13 | 15 | 43 |

Types of Schools Attended

It was anticipated earlier in this study that educational participation would increase with respondent participation in public and church integrated schools. Conversely, educational participation was viewed as being negatively associated with attendance in segregated schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This trend is evident in Table 25.

TABLE 25

Types of High Schools Attended

| | BIA | Public | Church | Others |
|--------------------------|-----|--------|--------|--------|
| Full-time Students | 5 | 12 | 6 | 1 |
| Part-time Students | 8 | 9 | 3 | 3 |
| Eligible Nonparticipants | 13 | 8 | 8 | 0 |

Post High School Training

Table 26 reports part and full-time college participation as a post high school educational experience. Nine of the 13 part-time college students had previously received training in areas such as cosmetology and clerk-typing. Approximately one-half of the eligible nonparticipants had received similar types of training. The difference in post high school vocational experience is associated with a similar weekly wage disparity for these two subgroups.

TABLE 26

Post High School Vocational and Educational Experience

| | 0 | 1 | 2 | Average |
|--------------------------|---|----|---|---------|
| Full-time Students | - | 16 | - | 1.0 |
| Part-time Students | 4 | 19 | 3 | 1.69 |
| Eligible Nonparticipants | 9 | 7 | 1 | .47 |

Statistical Analysis of Indian Attitudes
Toward Education¹²⁵

The second objective of this study was to determine those variables associated with Indian attitudes toward education. This research objective was accomplished in the following manner. Hallreth cards were punched for each questionnaire with the continuous data for the dependent variable and the 21 independent variables. An electronic digital computer using a step-wise multiple regression program was used to determine the relevant variables associated with Indian attitudes toward education.

An F test of significance at the .05 level was used to determine the relevant variables explaining the variance in Indian attitudes toward education. At the .05 level of significance there is a 5 per cent chance of rejecting the hypothesis when it is true. The probability of accepting the hypothesis when it is false is not known.

Analysis of the data is reported in Table 27 below.

¹²⁵For a discussion and explanation of the statistical formulas used in this chapter section see: Taro Yamane, Statistics, An Introductory Analysis (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), pp. 640-690.

TABLE 27

Multivariate Analysis of Indian
Attitudes Toward Education

Multiple R^2 with 21 Independent Variables = .583

Multiple R^2 with 3 variables in step-wise program = .388
at the .05 level of significance

Regression Equation:

$$y = 52.794 - 1.170x_{11} - 1.370x_{19} + 1.851x_4$$

x_{11} American Indian Culture Identification

x_{19} High School Activities

x_4 Attitudes Toward Non-Teaching School Personnel

The three independent variables that accounted for a significant reduction in the sum of squares due to regression at the .05 level of significance were American Indian Culture identification, high school activities and attitudes toward non-teaching school personnel. A positive attitude toward non-teaching school personnel is the only positive relationship expressed in the regression equation.

Hypotheses Testing

The null hypotheses previously stated in Chapter V were tested with the F test of significance at the .05 level of significance. In the present study the F test of the significant reduction in the sum of squares due to regression was computed according to the following procedure: (1) The total sum of squares was subtracted from the

cumulative sum of squares reduced at the last step in the step-wise program; (2) The remainder, the error of the sum of squares, was divided by the degrees of freedom; (3) This dividend, the mean sum of errors squared, was multiplied by an F value taken from an F table for 24 degrees of freedom at the .05 level; (4) The resulting product was used as the cut-off point by going backward through the step-wise print out until a variable was reached for which the sum of squares reduced exceeded this number.

All variables which had reduced the unexplained sum of squares exceeding this product were accepted as being significantly associated with the dependent variables.

The three variables for which the null hypotheses were rejected included American Indian culture identification, high school activities and attitudes toward non-teaching school personnel. The null hypotheses were not rejected for the remaining variables because they did not reduce the cumulative sum of squares to a significant degree.

The first significant variable entered in the multiple regression step-wise program print out was American Indian culture identification which explained 14.7 per cent of the total variance. The second significant variable, high school activities, explained 15.6 per cent of the total variance. Attitudes toward non-teaching school personnel entered as the third significant variable and explained 8.5 per cent of the total variance.

The second objective of the present study is fulfilled with this analysis.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

Summary

In the introduction it was stated that two self-defeating assumptions represented recurrent themes in the literature of American Indian education. One assumption explained Indian educational underachievement as stemming from value conflicts with the dominant culture, and the second assumption explained this underachievement on the basis of poverty and isolation. In combination the two assumptions imply that the Indian lacks motivation, that his cultural orientation prevents him from achieving educationally, and/or that widespread poverty, with its resultant social and physical isolation, exacerbates the first two conditions.

The present study found an inverse relationship between favorable attitudes toward education and Indian culture identification. As an isolated relationship it might appear that the previously stated culture conflict assumption was valid. However, it was also found that a large majority of Indian people in the total sample were positively predisposed to continue their education at the college level. In the context of the first assumption it was concluded that cultural orientation is significantly associated with Indian attitudes toward education; on the other hand, it was also concluded that this cultural orientation positively predisposes the Indian toward

educational achievement. Why is there a tendency in the literature, then, to interpret the Indian's cultural orientation as a major factor contributing to what is externally perceived as lack of educational motivation?

Murray Wax and others have explained the Indian's dilemma by using a concept which they call the "Vacuum Ideology." They state:

By "Vacuum Ideology" we mean the disposition of administrators and school officials to support policies and programs (such as the establishment of nursery schools) with the assertion that the Indian home and the mind of the Indian child are meager, empty or lacking in pattern.¹²⁶

If the reader will refer to the educational objectives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Chapter I he will note that the "Vacuum Ideology" has become the conceptual framework through which the Bureau operates.

When the concept of "Vacuum Ideology" is used the apparent contrast between Indian culture conflict, as a major explanation for his so-called lack of educational motivation, and his expressed desire for higher education disappears. Indian people in this study who have not attended college do not lack motivation. What appears to be missing is educational opportunity. This lack of opportunity can be partially attributable to low income and a previous failure of school officials and administrators to recognize and compensate

¹²⁶Wax, et. al., op. cit., p. 67.

for Indian social and cultural differences. To think of the Indian mind as being empty and meager is to continue the historical policy that defined him as being innately inferior to peoples of European extraction. A second interpretation of this applied "Vacuum Ideology" is to perceive the Indian's culture as being inferior. Either interpretation is derogatory because it interprets Indian differences as inferiorities. This form of ethnocentrism seems quite undesirable, especially when it is held by educators.

The historical review of Indian education stressed that the dominant policy of the Federal Government was one of forced assimilation. It would appear that the cumulative consequences of this policy have culminated in the "Vacuum Ideology" expressed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs' official policy. According to the statistical analysis, Indian attitudes toward non-teaching school personnel are significantly related to their attitudes toward education. The more positive the attitude toward non-teaching school personnel the greater the probability that sample members would be involved in higher education. Previous examples of Cherokee and Navaho educational successes would imply that Indian control of their own school systems facilitates the development of positive attitudes toward non-teaching school personnel.

The study found that conditions of limited income do affect Indian educational advancement. The consequences of low income conditions are expressed among sample members as lack of sufficient opportunity to take advantage of existing academic opportunities.

Lack of motivation to pursue college programs was not found. First-hand observations this past year with eligible nonparticipants also support this position.

The theoretical framework of the study utilized reference group theory, as recommended by Sherif, in an effort to avoid the isolation of facts in each separate area of investigation. Following this approach it was possible to integrate discrete data from anthropological, psychological, sociological and historical sources. The relationship between culture and personality was expressed in the conclusion that Indian culture identification is an important variable in Indian attitudes toward education. At the same time it was recognized that individual cultural differences can be sufficiently compensated for within school systems that recognize the pluralism existing in American society.

Historically we acknowledged the cumulative effect of forced educational assimilation policies on present Indian educational achievement. Social-psychologically it was noted that both membership and reference groups play an important role in the formation of one's attitudes and the setting of life goals. In this context attitudes toward non-teaching school personnel, Indian culture identification and high school activities pull together major areas from which the Indian eventually relates to available school systems and personnel.

It is concluded that hypothesized self-identity which was viewed as stemming from group membership and on-going socialization

experiences is substantiated in the present research. As previously stated, increased participation in the educational process tends to decrease the Indians expressed desire to return to or remain on the reservation. Furthermore, increased education is positively associated with increased identification and/or acceptance of white culture. X

IMPLICATIONS AND FINDINGS RELATED TO THE DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

By definition the Indian lives in two worlds, his own subculture and that of white society. He reflects varying degrees of behavioral assimilation in his speech, dress, behavior and material possessions. Structurally he is not fully assimilated in American society because he has not yet attained an equal competitive position educationally, occupationally, politically or socially. The lack of structural social assimilation is implied by approximately one-fifth of the sample members reporting that they have been denied jobs because they are Indian.

A large percentage of the total sample was female. This sex differential can be accounted for by reference to the greater similarity between Indian and white female roles compared to the male. Acculturation theory, referred to in the present study as behavioral assimilation theory, would predict that individual cross-cultural role congruence would facilitate intercultural movement. The implication of this sex differential supports the need for special educational programs directed toward Indian males.

It was found that Indian students at South Dakota State University have predominantly white ancestry. A large majority of

these students did not desire to return to the reservation. Previously it was noted that a shortage of college-educated Indians exists in leadership positions. If it is deemed desirable to place college-educated Indians in teaching, administrative and leadership positions on the reservation the full-time students in this sample will need to be actively recruited.

A majority of part-time college students on the reservation expressed a preference to live off the reservation. Tribal encouragement and available job opportunities on the reservation would appear to be necessary in order to retain this subgroup if extension programs are enlarged. By implication, then, college-trained Indian personnel can potentially be most satisfactorily recruited by subsidizing members of the eligible nonparticipating subgroup. A majority of individuals in this subgroup profess a desire to participate in part-time college programs. However, financial needs of this subgroup do not place them in a position to utilize tuition-free courses unless additional monetary subsidies are provided.

A majority of subjects in the study are registered tribal members and do not report that they have received encouragement or financial support from their tribes to continue college. The implication is that increased tribal involvement with college-active students is necessary to recruit them as graduates.

The population size of the respondents' home residence does not indicate any major unimodal tendencies within each of the subgroups when we take into account the fact that extension classes were

conducted in Sisseton itself. Rental expenses tend to be greater in Sisseton than in surrounding small towns and open farm areas. Thus, the lower average weekly wage of eligible nonparticipants would tend to encourage residence in these less expensive areas. In order to attend extension classes in Sisseton those living outside the community have an additional expense for transportation.

The drop-out rate from high school for Indian teenagers remains high while the need for more education increases in our complex society. It seems apparent that increased emphasis on vocational training is needed for a large number of Indian young people. The implications of this study for post high school Indians in their twenties and thirties are that they desire to achieve at the college level and will do so when financially able. The author's personal experience with the extension program at Sisseton also confirms this position.

In light of the American Indian's unenviable educational position in this society the development of vocational and college extension courses on the reservation would appear justified. The feasibility of a college extension program in the Sisseton Reservation area has been demonstrated. The present study documents the need for additional monies in order to give eligible nonparticipants an equal educational opportunity.

We have previously made reference to the negative association between Indian educational advancement and attendance at Bureau of Indian Affairs schools in which a special form of segregation exists.

Part-time Indian students in mixed Indian-White extension classes desire to retain this desegregated program. The funding of similarly integrated college extension programs would appear to be desirable from the standpoint of racial harmony. Added weight is lent to this suggestion when one finds that increased educational participation results from desegregated classroom settings.

Implications and Findings Related to the Statistical Analysis

American Indian culture identification was found to be negatively associated with Indian attitudes toward education. This finding implies that school systems offering programs that take Indian culture and background experiences into consideration are desirable. Potentially, then, school systems that fail to compensate for these cultural differences can be seen as contributing to Indian educational underachievement. It is further implied that halfhearted programs that offer only one or two courses on Indian cultural and value differences may be undesirable. Future research might explore the degree of emphasis on Indian culture that is most desirable in integrated schools. It is concluded that programs which increase Indian cultural identification without increasing intercultural understanding may lead to greater conflict and disillusionment with the white man's school. If this tendency is found with other minority groups it would seem reasonable to hypothesize that increased racial conflict and militancy would result.

The negative association between high school extracurricular activities and positive attitudes toward education implies that social

activities in high school may be stressed by some school personnel as a substitute for academic accomplishments. The promotion of high school extracurricular activities as an absolute good appears questionable. Subsequent research on Indian high school graduates and drop-outs would help clarify this issue.

Teachers have born the brunt of criticism when indices such as per cent of Indians graduating from college and lower achievement ratings per grade level are used to compare them with whites. The present study found that Indian attitudes toward teachers were positive. The study also found that attitudes toward non-teaching school personnel were significantly associated with college participation. Further research on the role of non-teaching school personnel in the total education of Indian people seems warranted. In contrast, specific attitude studies on select areas of the school's total socializing influence on Indian children may easily miss the dynamic interplay of related variables.

Methodological Implications

Nolan, et. al., reviewed the statistical methods most commonly employed in social science research in four major journals, Rural Sociology, American Journal of Sociology, American Sociological Review and Social Forces in an unpublished paper, August, 1967. They

concluded that very few studies in this review used multivariate analysis. Most of the studies used simple correlation or Chi-square.¹²⁷

The simple correlation between Indian attitudes toward education and the independent variables self-concept and age were significant at the .05 level. Using the same dependent variable with attitudes toward education as necessity, and participation in high school sports, respective significance was found at the .07 and .08 levels.

Studies on the Indian's self-concept and specific particularized research fields may be indicating that lower self-concept is an important variable when Indian culture identification is not considered. We found this relationship in the present study. However, multivariate analysis indicates that self-concept was not statistically significant when the Indian cultural orientation was considered. It is concluded, then, that Chi-square and simple correlation tests may be confirming cultural biases rather than accounting for cultural differences between Indians and whites.

¹²⁷ Michael F. Nolan, Robert C. Bealer and Vernon Ryan, "The Congruence in Sociological Analysis Between Research Design and Guiding Theoretical Assumptions," unpublished paper given at annual meeting, Rural Sociological Society, San Francisco, California. (August, 1967).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Adult Education Survey for the Northeast
South Dakota CAP Service Area

Schedule No. _____

Date _____

Interviewer _____

Place of Interview _____
(Home, CAP Office, Work, etc.)

The information gathered in this survey is a part of an area study supported and conducted jointly by the Community Action Office, Sisseton, South Dakota, and the Department of Rural Sociology at South Dakota State University, Brookings.

All information received will be kept confidential. The specific names or addresses of those persons answering the following questions will not be used in the study in any way. The study is concerned only with general characteristics of your past educational background, as well as containing general questions about your attitudes toward education and life in general.

The information you give us will be used to develop and expand adult extension education programs in this area.

I. Background Information

1. Interviewee is: Male _____ Female _____
2. Married _____ Single _____ Divorced _____
Separated _____ Widowed _____ Remarried _____
3. White _____ Non-White _____
a. Do you have Indian blood? Yes _____ No _____
b. Percentage Indian? _____
4. Have you been in the military service? Yes _____ No _____
5. Your date of birth: _____
(Month) (Year)
6. Your place of birth: _____
(State) (County) (Town)
7. Are you a registered tribal member? Yes _____ No _____
8. If possible, would you prefer to live on the reservation most of your life? Yes _____ No _____

9. Are you a full-time college student? Yes _____ No _____

10. Have you taken college extension courses through the CAP Program at Sisseton, South Dakota? Yes _____ No _____

11. If you have or are taking college courses through the CAP office at Sisseton, how did you first hear about them? _____

a. The number of courses you have taken at Sisseton are:

0 _____ 1 _____ 2 _____ 3 or more _____

12. Please indicate if you have received encouragement to continue your college education from any of the following:

| | | |
|----------------------|-----------|----------|
| Parents | Yes _____ | No _____ |
| Relatives | Yes _____ | No _____ |
| Brothers and sisters | Yes _____ | No _____ |
| The Tribe | Yes _____ | No _____ |
| Teachers | Yes _____ | No _____ |
| Others | Yes _____ | No _____ |

13. Please give the following information about your children:

| Boy(s) | Ages | Girl(s) | Ages |
|--------|-------|---------|-------|
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

14. Please give the following information about your brothers and sisters:

| Brother(s) | Ages | Sister(s) | Ages |
|------------|-------|-----------|-------|
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

15. Residence:

Open Farm _____ Village _____ Town _____ City _____
 0-499 500-1499 1500-2499 2500 above

a. Name of village, town, city: _____

16. Wife or husband's occupation: _____

17. Your occupation:

- a. Name of your employer: _____
- b. Hours worked per week: _____
Average wage: Hour _____ Week _____ or Month _____
- c. How long have you held your present job? _____
- d. Do you enjoy your work? Yes _____ No _____
- e. If you could have any kind of job and you didn't have to worry about the right kind of education for it, what would you like it to be? _____
- f. Do you feel you can get a better job by taking college extension courses? Yes _____ No _____
- g. Are you qualified for jobs in this area that you have been unable to get? Yes _____ No _____
- h. Have you ever been denied a job because you are an (Indian) (White)? Yes _____ No _____
- i. Do you feel that not having more education is the main reason you have not been able to get better jobs? Yes _____ No _____

18. Please list the sources from which you are receiving financial support:

| | | | |
|--------------|-----------|----------|--------------|
| Tribal | Yes _____ | No _____ | Amount _____ |
| BIA | Yes _____ | No _____ | Amount _____ |
| Parents | Yes _____ | No _____ | Amount _____ |
| Self-support | Yes _____ | No _____ | Amount _____ |
| Other | _____ | _____ | Amount _____ |

19. What would you estimate your parents total income to be last year?

20. Father's occupation: _____

21. Mother's occupation: _____

22. Father's education: Grade school _____ (Years) High School _____ (Years)
College _____ (Years) College Grade _____

23. Mother's education: Grade school _____ (Years) High School _____ (Years)
College _____ (Years) College Grade _____

24. Your religious preference: Protestant _____ Catholic _____
 Mormon _____ Native American _____ Traditional Indian _____
 Religion _____ Other _____ None _____

a. How often do you attend church:

More than once a week _____

Weekly _____

Monthly _____

Only on special holidays _____

b. What church organizations do you belong to? _____

25. What is your parents religious preference?

Mother: _____

Father: _____

26. Educational experience:

GED Yes _____ No _____ Year received 19 _____

High School Graduate Yes _____ No _____ Year received 19 _____

a. If you have your GED, in what grade did you drop out of school? _____

27. Did you attend:

BIA Schools Yes _____ No _____ Number _____

Public Schools Yes _____ No _____ Number _____

Church or Parochial Schools Yes _____ No _____ Number _____

Others _____

28. Please list all your vocational and educational experiences after you left high school:

Vocational and education
experiences

Length of time
weeks or months

| | | |
|----|-------|-------|
| a. | _____ | _____ |
| b. | _____ | _____ |
| c. | _____ | _____ |
| d. | _____ | _____ |
| e. | _____ | _____ |
| f. | _____ | _____ |

29. Participation in extracurricular activities in grades one through twelve:

Sports

| Grade | Type of sport | Letters or honors |
|-------|---------------|-------------------|
| " | " | " |
| " | " | " |
| " | " | " |
| " | " | " |

30. Did you ever hold a class office in grades 1 through 12?

Yes _____

No _____

Grade _____

Office held _____

" _____

" _____

" _____

" _____

31. Please list any other activities that you took part in while in high school: _____

32. Average grades received in high school:

F _____

D _____

C _____

B _____

A _____

33. Average grades received in college courses:

F _____

D _____

C _____

B _____

A _____

34. Please list any activities that you have taken part in while in college: _____

35. Total number of college course hours completed: _____

II. General Orientation

Please indicate the extent of your agreement or disagreement with each of the following statements.

| Strongly Agree | Mildly Agree | Undecided | Mildly Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

5

4

3

2

1

1. I was treated fairly by my teachers in grade school and high school.

5

4

3

2

1

2. My teachers never expected much from me in grade school or high school.

5

4

3

2

1

3. I generally liked the principal and other staff when I was in grade and high school.

5

4

3

2

1

4. I generally liked my instructors in the college courses I have taken.

5

4

3

2

1

5. The best teachers I have ever had were Indians.

| Strongly Agree | Mildly Agree | Unde- cided | Mildly Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

6. Some of my best friends in grade school and high school were white.

7. Some of my best friends in grade school and high school were nonwhites.

8. I like to be with Indian students better than white students.

9. White students are usually given more chances in high school than Indians.

10. My teachers in grade school and high school never really helped me learn to express myself.

11. School never seemed real; it was kind of a fairy tale.

12. Indian students are expected to be dumb in grade school and high school.

13. My parents (or guardians) always encouraged me to do my best in school.

14. My parents and relatives felt that one would lose his Indian culture if he went to college.

15. When I was in grade school and high school my friends didn't think it was important to study.

16. I never learned how to study in grade school and high school.

17. It was hard for me to keep interested in high school because I was away from home.

| Strongly Agree | Mildly Agree | Undecided | Mildly Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

- | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|--|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 18. I never had a quiet place to study in grade school or high school. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 19. I missed school quite a bit because I was bored by it. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 20. I missed grade school and high school quite a bit because I did things with my family and relatives. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 21. I missed a lot of grade school and high school because I didn't have the right kinds of clothes. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 22. Young people today are getting too much education. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 23. Education only makes a person more unhappy. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 24. School training is of little help in meeting the problems of real life. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 25. Education is more valuable than most people think. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 26. A person is foolish to keep going to school if he can get a good job. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 27. Too much time is being spent on unimportant things in education today. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 28. Education enables us to make the best possible use of our lives. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 29. Schools today encourage a person to think for himself. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 30. Education is of no real help in getting a job today. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 31. White people can be depended upon as being honest. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 32. Indian people should not go to college if it means they have to give up their own culture. |

| Strongly Agree | Mildly Agree | Unde- cided | Mildly Disagree | Strongly Disagree | |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------------|---|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 33. The greatest need of the Indian today is to get a better education. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 34. Indian people are considerate of others. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 35. There are many things about white culture that are good. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 36. I am not in sympathy with white people. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 37. It is more important for Indians to keep their old culture than anything else. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 38. Indian people have nothing about them that I admire. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 39. One of the biggest problems that Indians have today is the fact that most whites are prejudiced against them. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 40. White people do not impress me favorably. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 41. An Indian can be proud of his background and live successfully in both the Indian and white culture. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 42. If I could do as I please, I would change the kind of work I do every few months. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 43. White people have nothing about them that I admire. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 44. I like a job where I know that I will be doing my work about the same way from one week to the next. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 45. Indian people are generous to others. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 46. A person should not have to spend so much time working that he doesn't have time to enjoy his own interests. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 47. White people are considerate of others. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 48. Jobs that require a college education aren't worth all the work it takes to get them. |

| Strongly Agree | Mildly Agree | Undecided | Mildly Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

- | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|--|
| | | | | | 49. I am not interested in more education just for myself, but I would like it so my family could live better. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 50. Indian people can be depended upon as being honest. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 51. Knowing the right kind of people is more important in getting a good job than having a college education. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 52. White people are generous to others. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 53. I am not in sympathy with Indian people. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 54. People who get ahead in life are those who get the right breaks. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 55. Indian people do not impress me favorably. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 56. Some of the happiest people I know have very little formal education. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 57. No matter how hard I try, I just can't seem to get ahead. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 58. In the end, someone else always decides whether or not one ever gets ahead in life. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 59. Part-blooded Indians have more changes than full-blooded Indians. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 60. I think of myself as an Indian first and a member of this society second. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 61. I sometimes wonder if it really pays to work hard in order to get ahead. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 62. At times I felt that my father never really cared about me. |

| Strongly Agree | Mildly Agree | Unde- cided | Mildly Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

- | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|--|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 63. At times I felt that my mother never really cared about me. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 64. My parents favored one of my brothers or sisters over me. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 65. I would like to have a better job than most of my friends have. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 66. I never really liked school, but I felt I needed an education in order to do the things in life I would like to do. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 67. There are many things I enjoy learning about just because I find them interesting. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 68. Some of the nicest white people I have known have had a college education. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 69. Some of the nicest Indian people I have known have had a college education. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 70. When I first thought about going to college, I decided against it because it seemed so far away. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 71. Some members of my family and friends often thought that I should go to college if I had the chance. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 72. I think I could do more of the things I always wanted to do if I could get a college education. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 73. So much of the old Indian culture has been lost that a person really has to go to college if he wants to get ahead these days. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 74. If a person has the chance, it pays to get a college education. |

| Strongly Agree | Mildly Agree | Undecided | Mildly Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|----------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

- | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|--|
| | | | | | 75. With the right kind of education a person can do most of the things in life that he wants to do. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 76. I want everyone to accept me and respect me. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 77. I am most comfortable when I am by myself. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 78. I feel inferior as a person to some of my friends. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 79. At times I have felt that no one in the world really cares about me. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 80. I wish my friends would accept me more as a worthy person. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 81. I feel uncomfortable and nervous when I have to speak in front of people I hardly know. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 82. I doubt if my plans will turn out the way I want them to. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 83. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 84. It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 85. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 86. These days a person doesn't really know who he can count on. |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 87. There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man. |

APPENDIX B

ATTITUDE SCALES USED IN THE STUDY WITH
THEIR RELATED QUESTION NUMBERS1. Attitudes toward education

- *22. Young people today are getting too much education.
- *23. Education only makes a person more unhappy.
- *24. School training is of little help in meeting the problems of real life.
- 25. Education is more valuable than most people think.
- *26. A person is foolish to keep going to school if he can get a good job.
- *27. Too much time is being spent on unimportant things in education today.
- 28. Education enables us to make the best possible use of our lives.
- 29. Schools today encourage a person to think for himself.
- 30. Education is of no real help in getting a job today.
- 33. The greatest need of the Indian today is to get a better education.
- 67. There are many things I enjoy learning about just because I find them interesting.
- 75. With the right kind of education a person can do most of the things in life that he wants to do.

2. Attitudes toward school

- *11. School never seemed real; it was kind of a fairy tale.
- *12. Indian students are expected to be dumb in grade school and high school.
- *15. When I was in grade school and high school, my friends didn't think it was important to study.
- *16. I never learned how to study in grade school and high school.
- *19. I missed school quite a bit because I was bored by it.

3. Attitudes toward teachers

1. I was treated fairly by my teachers in grade school or high school.

* These are negative items, and weights for their response alternatives must be reversed for scoring purposes.

- *2. My teachers never expected much from me in grade school or high school.
- *10. My teachers in grade school and high school never really helped me learn to express myself.

4. Attitudes toward non-teaching personnel

- 3. I generally liked the principal and other school staff when I was in grade and high school.

5. Attitude toward white peers

- 6. Some of my best friends in grade school and high school were white.
- *8. I like to be with Indian students better than white students.
- *9. White students are usually given more chances in high school than Indians.

6. Parental attitudes

- 13. My parents (or guardians) always encouraged me to do my best in school.
- *14. My parents and relatives felt that one would lose his Indian culture if he went to college.
- *20. I missed grade school and high school quite a bit because I did things with my family and relatives.

7. Attitude toward job

- *42. If I could do as I pleased, I would change the kind of work I do every few months.
- *44. I like a job where I know that I will be doing my work about the same way from one week to the next.
- *46. A person should not have to spend so much time working that he doesn't have time to enjoy his own interests.
- *48. Jobs that require a college education aren't worth all the work it takes to get them.
- *51. Knowing the right kind of people is more important in getting a good job than having a college education.

* These are negative items, and weights for their response alternatives must be reversed for scoring purposes.

8. Education as necessity

- 49. I am not interested in more education just for myself, but I would like it so my family could live better.
- 65. I would like to have a better job than most of my friends have.
- 66. I never really liked school, but I felt I needed an education in order to do the things in life I would like to do.
- 72. I think I could do more of the things I always wanted to do if I could get a college education.
- 73. So much of the old Indian culture has been lost that a person really has to go to college if he wants to get ahead these days.

9. Attitudes toward whites as a group

- 31. White people can be depended upon as being honest.
- *36. I am not in sympathy with white people.
- *40. White people do not impress me favorably.
- *43. White people have nothing about them that I admire.
- 47. White people are considerate of others.
- 52. White people are generous to others.

10. Attitudes toward Indians as a group

- 34. Indian people are considerate of others.
- *38. Indian people have nothing about them that I admire.
- 45. Indian people are generous to others.
- 50. Indian people can be depended upon as being honest.
- *53. I am not in sympathy with Indian people.
- *55. Indian people do not impress me favorably.

11. American Indian culture identification

- 32. Indian people should not go to college if it means they have to give up their own culture.
- 37. It is more important for Indians to keep their old culture than anything else.
- 60. I think of myself as an Indian first and a member of this society second.

* These are negative items, and weights for their response alternatives must be reversed for scoring purposes.

12. Dominant American culture identification

- *39. One of the biggest problems that Indians have today is the fact that most whites are prejudiced against them.
- 41. An Indian can be proud of his background and live successfully in both the Indian and white cultures.
- 68. Some of the nicest white people I have known have had a college education.

13. Fatalism

- 54. People who get ahead in life are those who get the right breaks.
- 57. No matter how hard I try, I just can't seem to get ahead.
- 58. In the end, someone else always decides whether or not one ever gets ahead in life.
- 61. I sometimes wonder if it really pays to work hard in order to get ahead.
- 62. At times I felt that my father never really cared about me.
- 63. At times I felt that my mother never really cared about me.
- 64. My parents favored one of my brothers or sisters over me.

14. Self-concept

- *76. I want everyone to accept me and respect me.
- *77. I am most comfortable when I am by myself.
- *78. I feel inferior as a person to some of my friends.
- *79. At times I have felt that no one in the world really cares about me.
- *80. I wish my friends would accept me more as a worthy person.
- *81. I feel uncomfortable and nervous when I have to speak in front of people I hardly know.
- 82. I doubt if my plans will turn out the way I want them to.

15. Anomie

- 83. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse.
- 84. It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.

* These are negative items, and weights for their response alternatives must be reversed for scoring purposes.

85. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.
86. These days a person doesn't really know who he can count on.
87. There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.

APPENDIX C



Sisseton Reservation

APPENDIX D

THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES** WITH THEIR
MEANS STANDARD DEVIATIONS AND CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

| Variable Number | Mean | Standard Deviation | Correlation Coefficient |
|---------------------------|----------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 (Dependent Variable) | 48.50000 | 7.94634 | 1.00000 |
| 2 | 17.54347 | 4.75490 | 0.03147 |
| 3 | 10.21739 | 2.74802 | 0.02849 |
| 4 | 3.89130 | 1.25128 | 0.32513* |
| 5 | 8.67391 | 2.85231 | -0.07598 |
| 6 | 12.73913 | 2.19529 | 0.08533 |
| 7 | 17.91304 | 3.20295 | 0.16502 |
| 8 | 17.00000 | 2.97395 | 0.27740 |
| 9 | 19.17390 | 3.93447 | 0.05544 |
| 10 | 24.34782 | 3.29454 | 0.06112 |
| 11 | 7.73913 | 2.87080 | -0.38381* |
| 12 | 10.69565 | 2.08561 | 0.12202 |
| 13 | 16.39130 | 4.06873 | 0.04055 |
| 14 | 29.97826 | 11.74445 | 0.28752 |
| 15 | 27.00000 | 6.27162 | -0.12128 |
| 16 | 15.04348 | 4.58962 | 0.20595 |
| 17 | 21.23912 | 4.82670 | -0.31895 |
| 18 | 10.97826 | 10.19909 | -0.20496 |
| 19 | 1.78261 | 2.25992 | -0.33658* |
| 20 | 0.84783 | 1.44480 | -0.17517 |
| 21 | 1.63043 | 2.91630 | -0.26131 |
| 22 (Dummy) | 1.97826 | 0.85607 | -0.34404 |

* Significant at the point .05 level.

** The dependent variable and independent variables associated with their table numbers are identified below:

Dependent variable (1) attitude toward education; Independent variables, (2) attitudes toward school, (3) attitudes toward teachers, (4) attitudes toward non-teaching school personnel, (5) attitude toward white peers, (6) parental attitudes, (7) attitudes toward job, (8) education as necessity, (9) attitudes toward whites as a group,

(10) attitudes toward Indians as a group, (11) American Indian culture identification, (12) dominant American culture identification, (13) fatalism, (14) age, (15) high school grade point average, (16) anomia, (17) self-concept, (18) encouragement to continue college, (19) high school activities, (20) high school offices held, (21) high school sports, (22) three category dummy variables.

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